Daily Report

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Alia Gives Permet Congress Anniversary Speech

AU2505140189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 May 89

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, at meeting on 45th anniversary of First Antifascist National Liberation Congress in Permet on 24 May—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades: On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the historic Congress of Permet, in the name of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee and the Presidium of the People's Assembly, I would like to greet all comrades present at this meeting. I would particularly like to greet all those comrades who were delegates and wish them a happy anniversary.

The Congress of Permet, which we are commemorating, constitutes one of the most important events and was a decisive moment in the glorious epic of the national liberation struggle. Through its decisions, the Congress sanctioned and legalized the people's state power. On 24 May 1944, solutions were sealed here in this hall—solutions that the party and people had realized earlier with their blood, struggle, and unprecedented sacrifices. The congress transformed into reality the fundamental aspiration of the people, the major goal of many revolutionary battles. The congress made the people masters of their own country, gave them their state power, and guaranteed Albania's freedom and independence.

By declaring the past null and void, the historic Congress of Permet showed the world that, through their heroic struggle, the Albanian people had become masters of their own destiny, that the uprooted antipopular regimes no longer had a place in these territories; and that the time when Albania was treated as a commercial currency to satisfy the appetites of the foreigners was gone forever.

Commemorating the memorable date of 24 May 1944, our people honor the great deed of our glorious party and pay homage to the legendary leader of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha [applause, shouts of "Party, Enver—We are always ready"], who were the promoters and organizers of this historic Congress. The victories of the people, the triumph of the national liberation struggle, the historic victory of 29 November 1944, and the new Albania and the prospects of its progress are linked with the correct Marxist-Leninist line and the wisdom that characterized our heroic party while Comrade Enver Hoxha led our revolution.

Today, nearly 5 decades later, when we see a prosperous and Albania, we appreciate even more the farsightedness with which the party projected the country's future. Albania has been radically transformed in all directions. It has become more prosperous, stronger, and more respected. It was exploited and oppressed by the domestic beys and agas [feudal lords], as well as by foreigners. It is now free and independent, and is sovereign in the full sense of the word. Once it lagged behind in the area of economic and educational development. It has now been transformed into a country with advanced agriculture and a multibranched industry, and is filled with schools and cultural and scientific institutions; it has been transformed into a country that is developing and progressing, relying on its own forces. Albania, once trampled underfoot by the foreigners, now has its own personality, its own life, and its own policies and stands, which enjoy the sympathy of the peoples. Albania is respectfully listened to in the world.

We mention these achievements so we can joyfully and proudly stress the determination and consistency with which the party has progressed and continues to make progress along the road traced by the Congress of Permet. However, we also mention them here so as to show the magnificence of the deed performed here in this modest and small hall, and to stress the topical importance of this deed. The commemoration of historic events not only represents homage to the past. It is also of great importance for the present and for the future because history serves as a lesson. We are inspired by this to meet the demands of the times and to successfully respond to the new tasks created by the country's socialist construction.

The fundamental lesson we draw in commemorating the Congress of Permet is to constantly strengthen our homeland, people's Albania, and to make it more prosperous. This is achieved by consolidating the positions of socialism in our country, by developing the economy, by raising our cultural standards, and by increasing the well-being of the people; this is achieved by preserving the freedom and independence of our country as the apple of our eyes. This freedom and independence were won by our people with much blood and through many sacrifices. Let us therefore increase our efforts on all fronts and in all sectors of social activity to attain one victory after another; let us sharpen our revolutionary vigilance; and let us raise the defense potential and combat readiness of our armed forces. Nothing must lull us to sleep—not beautiful words about the lessening of tension or the promises of peace uttered by the superpowers and other aggressive forces.

Another lesson we draw in commemorating the Congress of Permet is to preserve the popular character of our state power by placing the best sons and daughters of the people at all levels and in all its forums, that is, those who have demonstrated through their daily struggle and efforts that they have placed and continue to place everything in the service of the cause of socialism and the country's defense.

These 45 years that have elapsed since the Congress of Permet have taught us that the more we advance along the road of socialist construction, the more skillful the power organs should become and the closer they should be to the masses of the people and their concerns and troubles.

The revolutionization of the organs of the people's power is a constant duty. Only through a continuous revolutionary process and only by opposing bureaucracy and its manifestations, can the people's authority remain fresh, dynamic, and operational; only in this way can its decisions be efficient.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has taught us that the only way to revolutionize the people's power is to continually democratize it by increasingly attracting the working masses to the activity of the state administration. This has been and will always remain the party's permanent line. Democracy in our country is not a mere formality. It is concrete and is reflected in the right of all working people to exert power directly, to participate in the planning of socialist construction, to determine the directions of the country's economic and cultural development, and to determine the level of production and distribution of material goods.

Our democracy was also reflected in the 7 May elections, not only in the fact that our people participated in these elections and gave over 99 percent of their votes to the candidates of the Democratic Front, but also in the activity conducted during the election campaign. I will give two examples: After taking into consideration the suggestions of the trade union organizations, the women's union, the youth union, and the veterans' organization, as well as the opinion of the AWP organization, the Democratic Front in Tirana District presented 7960 candidates to the people for discussion. Of these—after a detailed discussion at broad meetings of the people and on the basis of electoral precincts—3046 candidates were accepted, that is, the necessary number. This includes 28 candidates who were directly proposed at these meetings. In Fier District, the Democratic Front presented 6612 candidates to the people's councils for discussion by the people. Of these, the people approved 2304, the necessary number for all levels of people's councils—including 63 candidates who were directly proposed and approved at the meetings of the people. This is what also happened in all other districts throughout Albania. In no other country of the world does such a democratic election of the representatives of the people take place. Such a profound examination and direct nomination of candidates for the organs of state authority by the people themselves constitutes that mechanism of our socialist democracy which led to the excellent result of the 7 May elections. [applause]

Dear comrades, the plans drawn up together by the party and people for the country's comprehensive development open up brilliant prospects to socialism in Albania. We are conscious that work and knowledge are needed—indeed much work and knowledge are needed—but no matter how great and difficult the tasks may be, our people are always ready to fulfill them.

We have complete confidence in our own forces. Our optimism is based on the material potential, on the numerous possibilities of our agriculture and industry, on the inexhaustible human potential of the country, on our tireless workers and peasants, and on the talented cadres and specialists trained in our schools; our optimism is based on the party's tested line, which has always brought and will always bring us new victories.

I wish you all happy festivities.
Long live our AWP.
Long live the Albanian people.
Glory to Comrade Enver Hoxha's deeds. [applause]

Stefani Speaks at Permet Rally

AU2505153389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 May 89

[Report on speech by Simon Stefani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of people's defense, delivered at a rally in Permet on the 45th anniversary of the First Antifascist National Liberation Congress on 25 May—portions recorded]

[Text] [Begin Stefani recording] Dear comrades, it is a particular pleasure for all of us to meet here, in the city of Permet, to commemorate one of the most memorable events in our history, the 45th anniversary of the First Antifascist National Liberation Congress. It is my pleasure, in the name of the Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the General Council of the Democratic Front, to greet you all, the valiant and industrious people of Permet, and in particular the former delegates to that historic Congress, and wish you many happy returns of this beautiful May festivity. [applause, shouts of Party, Enver—We are always ready]

The Congress of Permet represents one of the climaxes of the glorious Antifascist National Liberation Struggle and one of the most monumental deeds of the party. The Congress will forever remain one of the most authentic testimonies to the fact that our party considered the question of state power to be a fundamental problem of the revolution, that it raised and resolved this question for the good of the people while the war was still in progress. With rare Marxist-Leninist maturity and farsightedness, our party followed an original path in creating the new state authority.

On this memorable day, let us look back with profound gratitude to the life and immortal deeds of Enver Hoxha, the most distinguished son of our country, the immortal and glorious leader, the chairman of our first people's and democratic government. [shouts of hurrah]

Everything that has been achieved in Albania during the past half a century or so is closely linked with and indivisible from his name and deeds. We recall our dear Enver with the most profound respect and admiration, because he himself promoted and prepared the entire proceedings of the Congress of Permet, because he

himself conceived the genial platform and formulated the basic documents of the historic decisions adopted by that Congress. His deeds will live through the centuries. His teachings, his deeds fill us with inspiration, give us courage to advance always surely. [applause] [end recording]

Being the direct continuation of the decisions of the tasks set out at the Peze and Labinot conferences, Comrade Simon Stefani went on to say, the Congress of Permet founded and laid the constitutional foundations of the new Albanian state. It heralded that what was happening in Albania was a radical upheaval, the dawn of a new world that was being built on the foundations of the new state power proclaimed by the people themselves, under the leadership of the Albanian Communist Party, now the Albanian Workers Party, AWP. Legalizing the authority of the national liberation councils as the sole state authority in Albania, the Congress gave the people their state power. The Antifascist National Liberation Council and its committee endowed with the attributes of a provisional government, were not, as in the past, a result of the combinations and machinations of the chancelleries of imperialist powers, which appointed and subsidized governments to oppress the people. Our new state represented the aspirations of the broad working masses and enjoyed their support. It enjoyed the leadership of the Communist Party. It was the crowning victory of the struggle waged by the people for national and social liberation.

The 45 years that have elapsed and the road that has been traversed since then show that this state authority has grown, has been constantly strengthened, perfected, and revolutionized as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The tasks set out by the historic Congress of Permet were successfully fulfilled. The new state and its legislative and executive organs showed rare ability in coping with the tremendous problems of the National Liberation War, the reconstruction, and the construction of the new Albania. It represented the Albanian people with dignity both within and outside the country and smashed all efforts made by the domestic and foreign enemies to divert it from the Marxist-Leninist road.

The strength and prospects of our state power are based on the unity of the people around the party. As in the past, this unity is also today a living and magnificent reality, the foundation of all the victories of our revolution and of the country's freedom and independence. The party and our state power have created all the economic, political, ideological, and moral prerequisites to ensure the monolithic unity of all the working people and their steel-like unity around the party at all times. Responding to the aspirations of the people, our party will never allow our state power to be influenced by bourgeois and revisionist ideas and practices, the Gorbachevite perestroyka, and so forth.

The fundamental acts of the Congress of Permet, Comrade Simon Stefani went on to say, opened up a brilliant era in the history of the Albanian people. They radiated strongly on the entire foreign policy pursued by the new state of the people's democracy. Through its principled, sincere, and independent Marxist-Leninist policy, the party and the socialist state secure for Albania and its people the freedom, independence, sovereignty, and favorable conditions for the construction of socialism. This correct and peace-loving policy have greatly raised the authority of socialist Albania in the world. This has made it possible for the number of friends and well-wishers of socialist Albania to increase, to extend our trade and our scientific and cultural exchanges with other countries.

We are a people who have never wished ill to others. We bother no one. On the contrary, what we want is to have good relations with all those who respect us, that we may respect them. We want no disturbances in the Balkans. We have shown through our positions and actions that we are in favor of peace, understanding, cooperation, and good-neighborliness with all, including Yugoslavia. However, certain circles in that country are not responding positively to this goodwill. These circles are pursuing erroneous ways in all possible directions, which damage these relations.

Meanwhile, the state of emergency is still being enforced in Kosovo. Violence continues to be exerted. Arrests, imprisonment, massive purges of people in various sections of the community, and draconian repression are daily events in Kosovo. This chauvinistic violence, unprecedented in Europe, has been and is being resolutely condemned by the Albanian people. This violence has also severely shaken international public opinion, even in Yugoslavia, which has strongly condemned it.

It is only by getting down to the truth, by lifting the state of emergency, by respecting national and democratic rights, and by initiating a dialogue with the Albanians, that the way may be opened to overcoming problems that have been created and accumulated. This would also positively influence the development of relations between our two countries, which constitute an important element in inter-Balkan relations and in the process of inter-Balkan cooperation that has been initiated.

Comrade Simon Stefani went on to say, our beloved Albania has been transformed as desired and determined by the Congress of Permet, a new and prosperous Albania with its own most progressive system. The party, the people, the people's power, and socialism have made

Albania into a country where magnificent transformations have taken place in the economy, education, science, culture, and the living standards of the working people. The genuine socialism being built in Albania can meet all challenges of the time, all the rabid campaigns undertaken by the bourgeoisie and the revisionists to discredit the ideals of socialism and to sow the seeds of doubts and insecurity in the socialist future of mankind.

We are progressing firmly on the road of socialist development relying entirely on our own efforts and on fruitful international cooperation, because this is the honest way, the way that keeps our hands untied and consolidates our freedom and independence. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, no force can divert us from this road. We will always confront history proudly.

In conclusion, Comrade Stefani said:

[Begin Stefani recording] Other great events are awaiting us. We will soon be going to the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front. As always, our people will go to this great Assembly proudly and with new victories in all directions. Let us turn this into a source of inspiration to further raise our militant spirit, to further raise our mobilization at work, to fulfill all our tasks in all sectors and branches and by every individual and collective, to transform into reality the historic decisions of the Ninth AWP Congress and of the AWP Central Committee.

May the revolutionary atmosphere generated by the 45th anniversary of the liberation serve as a powerful impulse for continuous actions and good results in all fields. [applause] [end recording]

Deputy Foreign Minister on Yugoslav Albanians

AU2605094489 Hamburg DPA in German 0929 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Tirana (DPA)—Reunification of the 2 million Albanians in Yugoslavia with the People's Republic of Albania "is no topic at the moment." This was stated by Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Muhamed Kpllani in a DPA interview in Tirana on Friday [26 May]. Belgrade accuses Tirana of promoting the separation of the Albanians in Kosovo from Yugoslavia. "Yugoslavia always wants to find the reasons for its internal problems abroad," Kapllani rejected the Yugoslav accusations.

The deputy foreign minister harshly criticized the treatment of Albanians in Yugoslavia. In the multination state they are "second-class citizens," even though they are the third-largest ethnic group of the country. Concerning the bloody national riots in Kosovo in March Kapllani said: "The Albanians have been deprived of autonomy with tanks.... In Kosovo tanks were shooting at Albanians while in Belgrade they were drinking champagne. These are South American conditions." During the violent resistance of the Kosovo Albanians against the restriction of their independence 24 people were killed in March.

"We are not calling for a change of borders," Kapllani explained his country's position. "However, we will defend our brothers if they are shot dead." The plans of the Republic of Serbia for family planning also in the province of Kosovo, which belongs to the republic are an "anti-Albanian, nationalist, Serbian policy." Serbia has long been pondering the question of how the explosion of the Albanian population after World War II can be braked.

Bulgarian-Turkish Ties Strained Over Dissension

Foreign Ministry Statement

AU2505181089 Sofia BTA in English
1746 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 25 (BTA)—In connection with the notes exchanged between the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Turkish Embassy in Sofia between April 3 and May 23 with a view to holding a bilateral meeting on certain humanitarian matters, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Maksim Karadzhov, made an official statement today.

He indicated that Turkey had suggested that the agenda of the meeting include questions concerning the reunification of divided families. Bulgaria had suggested that in addition, the participants in the meeting consider questions concerning the fate and the human rights and freedoms guarantees of the millions-strong Kurdish people in Turkey; the publication and the circulation of the Helsinki, Madrid and Vienna Accords in Turkey; the reasons and grounds for the detention and imprisonment of Turkish journalists; the bringing of Turkish legislation into line with the international commitments undertaken by Turkey in Vienna, as well as Turkey's entire policy in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including their practical guarantees.

The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Turkey had set preconditions restricting the range of questions subject to discussion and subsequently, without formally notifying Bulgaria, had unilaterally cancelled the meeting and had circulated through the media untrue information about the circumstances surrounding this cancellation.

"This improper act," the spokesman said, "clearly points to the objectives which Turkey pursued by suggesting a bilateral meeting, to a desire to derive a self-seeking advantage from the provisions of the Viennese concluding document and, above all, to the lack of readiness to conduct a dialogue on the matters raised."

The statement says further on that Bulgaria has twice served formal notification on the embassies in Sofia of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in connection with the two-way diplomatic correspondence on the matter.

32 Ethnic Turks Reportedly Killed

AU2605072789 Paris AFP in English
2248 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Geneva, May 25 (AFP)—Thirty-two ethnic-Turkish Bulgarians were killed by the Army in three Bulgarian villages during demonstrations against "forced assimilation" of the Turkish minority, the Swiss association of Turkish Bulgarians said here Thursday. The Army opened fire to disperse demonstrators on May 5 and 6 in Kaolinovo, in the northeast of the country, and in Dzhebel, in the south, and Khaskovo, centre, on May 12, 13 and 14, the association said quoting telephone conversations with dissidents in Bulgaria. Two of the villages were said to have been set on fire. Some 800 Turkish-ethnic Bulgarians have been interned in camps in Belene, an island on the Danube, and in Sevlievo, the association said. The official Bulgarian news agency BTA reported Wednesday that two people were shot dead and that one died of a heart attack during ethnic-Turkish demonstrations last weekend.

Turks Expelled to Yugoslavia

AU2605100289 Paris AFP in English
0931 GMT 26 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, May 26 (AFP)—Bulgaria has expelled 74 citizens of Turkish descent to Yugoslavia this week in addition to about 180 expelled to Austria, the Turkish Embassy said here.

The expulsions come in the wake of reports that 32 ethnic Turks have died in mass protests in Bulgaria during the past three weeks.

Meanwhile reports from Vienna said 132 Bulgarian Turks left Austria by air for Turkey Friday. The plane was to stop in Belgrade to pick up 30 more refugees, the Turkish Embassy in Vienna said.

Another 50 refugees, temporarily housed in Austrian police barracks are waiting to leave and may be flown to Turkey later Friday, a diplomat said.

In Belgrade, Turkish Embassy spokeswoman Ayse Asya said half the refugees sent to Yugoslavia had now left for Turkey. She said the Bulgarian police had confiscated "nearly all money and valuables" from the refugees at the border.

The Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade said it had "no information" about the expulsions. [passage omitted]

Refugee sources said more expulsions were likely as the 900,000-strong Bulgarian Turkish community was determined to resist "Bulgarianisation" which, among other obligations, forces Turks to modify their Moslem names to Slavic-sounding ones.

Turkish Refugees Interviewed

AU2405123889

[Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH on 23 May carries on page 4 a 1,200-word interview with Anita Todorova and Murat Dyonmez, "two young, former Turkish citizens," "prepared for publication" by Yana Mavrodieva, Maria Stoyanova, and Darina Mladenova, entitled: "'There is no guarantee that you will be alive tomorrow'". It describes their experiences in Turkey and their reasons for "defecting" to Bulgaria.

A brief introductory note explains that Anita Todorova has been in Bulgaria since August 1988, while Murat arrived 3 months ago.

Murat is a former university student who "defected" from Turkey for political reasons, shortly before his graduation. He describes himself as a Communist and would like to study Marxism-Leninism and political economy in Bulgaria. He declares: "I intend to go back to my country to work for the Turkish people's education. My only wish is that Turkey may become a socialist country. I will struggle for this, and even sacrifice my life. I was in a Turkish prison and endured many hours of tortures because I loved and defended Bulgaria."

Anita was born in Bulgaria and emigrated to Turkey with her parents as a child in 1973. She describes the desolate conditions under which she grew up in Instanbul and other Turkish towns, her parents being unemployed and forced to sell all their belongings in order to survive. She stresses that she never lost her warm feelings for Bulgaria for which, she says, she was despised and persecuted.

Both describe the general atmosphere in Turkey as "anti-democratic," and as being inspired by religious fanaticism, ignorance, and intolerance. They emphasize the general poverty and lack of social welfare, the persecution of people with left-wing and communist ideas, the propagation of "slanders against Bulgaria." Both dwell on the "anti-Bulgarian campaign."

Murat says: "A distorted image of Bulgaria has been created in Turkey. I would like to say in a loud voice, that it is high time to stop the Turkish Government's anti-Bulgarian campaign. I would like to ask: Where was the Turkish left wing during the anti-Bulgarian campaign, conducted by Yozal and Evren? Why did the Turkish intellectuals not warn society, why did they not tell the Turkish people that Bulgaria is a socialist country which struggles for peace, understanding and good-neighborly relations? Is the Turkish left wing so helpless, that it did not dare to object to this anti-Bulgarian campaign? These questions will remain unanswered, because Turkey, with its over 50 million-strong population, is speechless, and this is the most painful thing, that hurts me."

Anita says: "Those who are conducting the anti-Bulgarian campaign in Turkey are doing this in a primitive manner—they claim that women are common property in Bulgaria, that children are taken away by the state, that no one has a house, or a private car, that no one owns anything, everything belongs to the state. I told the truth, about our house and our neighbors, about everything in Bulgaria. People were incredulous at the beginning, but gradually they began to believe me. When Bulgarian names were restored in this country I told my colleagues—you are Turks, with Turkish names, but your life is not worth a penny, you live in poverty. What is more important to you: to live decently, or to keep your names? This made them think, and they even admitted that, perhaps, I am right."

Anita adds that she would like to tell the truth to "people in Bulgaria, who may have illusions about Turkey, to help them understand that the most important things are their living conditions in Bulgaria, which they could not find in Turkey."

Atanasov Concludes Official Talks in Algiers

Meets Parliament President

AU2505102989 Sofia BTA in English 0726 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Algiers, May 25 (BTA correspondent)—During the second day of the official friendly visit Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, is paying to Algeria, the Bulgarian state leader held official talks at the National People's Assembly of Algeria and with the leadership of the National Liberation Front (FLN). The president of the Algerian parliament, Mr Rabah Bitat, informed Mr Georgi Atanasov about the new points in the activity of the people's representatives and the increased role of the National People's Assembly after the important changes of the Algerian Constitution. The chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria repeated the invitation extended by Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, to Mr Bitat to visit Bulgaria.

During the talks with Mr Abdel Hamid Mehri, secretary general of the National Liberation Front, which were continued after the time set by protocol, the two sides exchanged detailed information about the development of the socio-economic and political processes in Bulgaria and Algeria taking place under the guidance of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the FLN. Mr Georgi Atanasov delivered Mr Abdel Hamid Mehri a message of greetings on behalf of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP and personally on Mr Todor Zhivkov's behalf, wishing him successful completion of the tasks the FLN has got to carry out at the present important stage of the development of Algeria.

Later on Mr Georgi Atanasov visited Constantine, the third biggest city in Algeria, the centre of a developed industrial region. After his talks with the governor, Mr Khalifa Bendjedid, the Bulgarian guest went on a sightseeing tour in the city and visited the new industrial enterprises in Ain Smara, including the future big electric and motor trucks works in whose construction and equipment Bulgaria is taking part.

Returns From Visit 25 May

AU2505183789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 May 89

[Excerpt] Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov returned today from Algeria, where he had made a 3-day official friendly visit at the invitation of Kasdi Merbah, leader of the Algerian Government.

At Sofia Airport Comrade Georgi Atanasov was welcomed by Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other officials.

This morning the final talks were held between the governmental leaders, during which Comrade Georgi Atanasov handed over to Kasdi Merbah a message from Comrade Todor Zhivkov to President Chadli Bendjedid. At the moment the Algerian president is continuing to take part in the Arab League session. [passage omitted]

Joint Communique Issued

AU2505200789 Sofia BTA in English
1807 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 25 (BTA)—A communique on the visit to Algeria by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, expresses satisfaction with the level which bilateral relations have reached.

The document on the Bulgarian head of government's three-day visit, which has been released for publication, expresses a shared determination to enhance political and economic cooperation at all levels.

The communique points to the need to use more adequately the opportunities offered by the two countries' mutually complementary economic capabilities and by the reforms of their economies. More active mutually advantageous relations can be pursued in power generation and more specifically in the utilization of natural gas, in mining, mechanical engineering, water resources management and construction.

During the talks between Mr Georgi Atanasov and Mr Kasdi Merbah, prime minister of Algeria, the sides stressed the historic importance of the positive changes brought about in international relations with the receding nuclear threat and the possibilities for a political settlement of regional conflicts, with the atmosphere of mutual understanding and cooperation that is gaining ground. Bulgaria and Algeria believe that a durable improvement of the international climate can be achieved on the basis of respect for the countries' sovereignty, territorial integrity and free choice of a road of development.

The document indicates that all countries should actively contribute to the efforts to make disarmament and the strengthening of international peace and security an irreversible process. An emphasis is laid on the direct link between security in Europe and in the Mediterranean and support is expressed for the efforts seeking to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security and cooperation.

In the exchange of views on the situation in Europe, the Bulgarian side declared itself in favour of the convocation of a "Europe-wide roundtable discussion" with the participation of different political forces.

The communique says that Mr Kasdi Merbah views in a positive light the development of relations among the Maghreb countries since the formation of the Union of the Arab Maghreb and the role of Algeria in these processes. Bulgaria commends highly these developments.

Mr Georgi Atanasov briefed his hosts on Bulgaria's Balkan policy and discussed this country's efforts towards turning the peninsula into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone, towards the assertion of good-neighbourliness and of the progress achieved at the meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan countries in Belgrade and at the subsequent inter-Balkan forums. The Algerian head of government praised Bulgaria's Balkan policy and this country's contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.

Bulgaria and Algeria welcome the processes of regulating the situation relating to western Sahara in keeping with the resolutions of the UN and the OAU.

The communique expresses solidarity with the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO and welcomes the decisions of the Algiers session of the Palestine National Council. Support is expressed for the Palestinian popular uprising and the Israeli repressions are condemned. An emphasis is laid on the need to call an international Middle East peace conference to be attended by all parties concerned.

Atanasov To Visit CSSR 'Beginning of June'

AU2505164289 Sofia BTA in English
1548 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Sofia, May 25 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr Ladislav Adamec, head of the Government of Czechoslovakia, Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, will pay a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia in the beginning of June, 1989.

Britain Expels Four CSSR Embassy Employees

LD2505185189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] We have a report from London saying that the British Government today grossly infringed upon its bilateral relations with Czechoslovkaia when it accused four employees of the Czechoslovak representation in London of unacceptable activities and expelled them. Jan Fidler, Czechoslovak ambassador in Great Britain, resolutely rejected the above accusations.

Further Reaction to Nagymaros Construction Halt

Dam Commissioner Cited

AU2205120189

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 May on page 2, under the headline "Gabcikovo Will Be of Benefit," carries a 350-word "oz"-signed report on a visit by a group of Czechoslovak and foreign journalists to the building site of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station on 18 May. The visit is also the subject of a 450-word Stefan Mesaros report, entitled "Belief in Further Cooperation," carried by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 19 May, on page 2.

According to the RUDE PRAVO report, addressing the visiting journalists Engineer Vladimir Lokvenc, CSSR Government commissioner for the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of Danube dams, "described as unfounded the idea that the Danube River bed will dry out, that wetland forests will be destroyed, and that other damage will occur" as a result of the dams' construction and "stressed that, quite to the contrary, water management conditions for highly intensive large-scale agriculture on 50,000 hectares of the Rye Island [area along the Danube in southern Slovakia] will be improved, while simultaneously guaranteeing the area's reliable protection against floods." The RUDE PRAVO correspondent also reports on his interviews with Czechoslovak workers involved in the construction of the project, in which they "expressed the conviction that the resumption of work by their colleagues at Nagymaros is only a question of time" and "stressed that, if they and their colleagues at Nagymaros could arrange it themselves, construction at Nagymaros would be resumed very soon."

The Bratislava PRAVDA report notes that, in defiance of the decision of the Hungarian Government on a provisional construction stop at Nagymaros, work at Gabcikovo continues "at full speed" and "in harmony with the construction timetable." Mesaros mentions that of the budgeted Kcs12.6 billion, Kcs9.6 billion worth of construction work has already been carried out. He also quotes Government Commissioner Vladimir Lokvenc as having said at his meeting with journalists that, although builders at Gabcikovo were "surprised" by the Hungarian decision, they "believe that the Hungarian comrades will in the end fulfill their obligations under the treaty in good time, because their failure to do so would not only lead to damage amounting to billions for the national economies of both participating sides, because of a substantially lower electricity production, but also to the restriction of international river navigation on this important stream."

Ecologists Write Adamec

LD2505005689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Czechoslovak ecologists have sent an open letter, bearing 3,615 signatures, to Prime Minister Adamec. According to those who signed, Czechoslovakia and Austria should follow the Hungarian example in order to save what remains of the unparalleled natural values of the Danube bend.

Regarding the compensation demand proposed by the Czechoslovak side in the case of the permanent cancellation of the building at Nagymaros, according to the writers of the letter, thq bill should be presented to those who gave the go-ahead to the project at the time.

Government Official on Upcoming Ecology Talks

AU2405140789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 89 p 2

[Interview with Miroslav Pavel, director of the press section in the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium, by unidentified interviewer for the "Question" column; date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] Can you give us the precise date of the Prague meeting of the ministers responsible for ecological issues in the governments of countries bordering on the CSSR, which is now being prepared, and describe its agenda?

[Pavel] The government members responsible for ecological issues in the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the FRG, the Polish People's Republic, Austria, the USSR, and the CSSR, and also representatives of the European Communities, the CEMA, and the European Economic Commission of the United Nations, will confer in Prague on 29-30 May 1989. Following the March meeting of experts from the countries and international organizations mentioned above, this conference will be yet another specific undertaking to discuss environmental problems in central Europe, in the context of the initiative launched by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec in December 1988.

The experts' meeting in March 1989 proposed a total of seven ranges of issues for discussion. They concern the elaboration and implementation of technical and technological measures for reducing air pollution and improving the purity of border waterways; the improvement and alleviation of the exchange of technologies for environmental protection; and the elaboration and implementation of proposals for unifying the monitoring

systems. They also concern the improvement of mutual information, education, and work with the general public; and issues connected with cooperation in averting disasters which involve environmental pollution, including the mutual provision of data on the occurrence of such disasters and mutual assistance in removing their consequences and in working out measures for protecting nature, above all in the border areas.

The Czechoslovak side also proposes to include in the conference agenda the exchange of views and information on the creation and protection of the environment and the exchange of experience acquired in this field; the assessment of existing bilateral and multilateral cooperation; and the discussion of suggestions for intensifying mutual cooperation. It is understood that the conference will also deal with other topical issues. The final agenda will be worked out by the group of conference editors on Sunday [28 May].

According to the available information, the conference should be attended by all the invited ministers of the countries mentioned above and also by representatives of the three international organizations. Monday [29 May] will be devoted to the plenary session of all attending delegations. It is also expected that they will be received by the Czechoslovak premier. The conference will be concluded on Tuesday [30 May].

Report on 19 May CPCZ Presidium Session

AU2305114889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 1

["Report on CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its session on Friday [19 May], the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) Central Committee acquainted itself with the results of the friendly working visit to the CSSR by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. A standpoint on this is issue is being published separately.

The Presidium discussed the agenda and the documents of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session, convened for 14-15 June. Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, will deliver a report on the party's activity after the 13th CPCZ Central Committee session and its further tasks. The session will also discuss reports by CSSR Deputy Premiers Pavel Hrivnak and Karel Julis on the implementation of the CPCZ Central Committee resolutions on issues pertaining to scientific-technical development and the development of engineering, metallurgy, and power engineering. It was decided to send the two written reports to members and candidate members of the Central Committee in advance. They will be introduced at the session by Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary.

Further, the Presidium took note of a draft of the principles of the legal amendment in respect of the citizens' small-scale individual activities, which proceeds from the conclusions of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session of December 1987 on the need to create the most favorable conditions, especially for increasing the individual participation of citizens in providing services. The proposal takes into consideration the demand for higher political and legal security for citizens providing services on the basis of national committees' permits.

The Presidium took note of a report on the concept for the development of railroad transportation through the year 2005, and plans for a gradual modernization and reconstruction of railroad transportation through the year 2005. The concept reckons with modernization and expansion of the existing railroad network and the necessary construction of new high-speed railroad lines while implementing the program for the abolition of little used railroad lines, or making them more effective. The objective is not only to qualitatively cover transportation needs, but also to significantly increase and expand the quality of services in both the passenger and freight transportation.

It took note of a report on convening the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission on 16 June. On the commission's agenda there will be, among other things, a report on the results of the check on how party bodies and organizations are implementing the resolutions of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session on improving cadre policy.

It discussed a report on the situation which has arisen with the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project on the Danube after the decision of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic to suspend building activities in the Hungarian sector. It noted that the project is being constructed as a united operational system on the basis of an extensive and long-term research and design preparation, during which a number of alternate solutions have been discussed and a joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian contractual project worked out. The failure to complete the construction of the whole system as originally agreed would substantially reduce the overall effectiveness of the project and make impossible the envisaged production of peak-time electric energy and the necessary depth for navigation. It took note of the fact that the smooth continuation of construction work on the Czechoslovak section of the project is ensured. It voiced approval for the CSSR Government's decision to immediately enter into talks with the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic on this problem with the aim of ensuring continuation of the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project in accordance with the interstate agreement and the agreed timetable.

The Presidium took note of a report on the official visit by a delegation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Afghanistan to the CSSR between 30 April and 7 May

1989. It reiterated its support for a peaceful political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan by way of national reconciliation, without foreign interference, and with full respect for the Geneva Accords.

Legalization of Opposition Ruled Out
AU2505174589 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 17 May 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by Marie Hutterova, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic: "Restructuring Is a Battle for the Minds of the People"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The positive results which the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] achieved in the past are connected with its active policy and ideological work, with the fact that it has succeeded in winning over the majority of the people for its policy. The party still enjoys great trust and authority today. This is attested to by the broad support for the course of social restructuring and the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of the Victorious February. However, we cannot fail to see that the period of change which we have entered, the imbalance in the economy, and the strain on the domestic market, have brought with them a certain wavering of views. Ideas differ about comprehensive restructuring and the steps leading to it, about what it should include, and what the process of democratization constitutes. In a situation like this we want, above all, to win over the broadest possible strata of the working people and citizens for supporting restructuring, for the policy of the party, which realizes it in the interest of the people of this country; and even those who are mistaken, who hold incorrect views, or are under the influence of our adversary's views. After all, we cannot exclude from our society those who hesitate, waver, or are passive; we cannot put them into opposition or leave them at the mercy of hostile propaganda. The same applies to believers who are otherwise fulfilling their civic duties well. We must orient our activity precisely toward those who hesitate, we must talk with them, explain our policy to them, win them over.

Also, our political and ideological work must not be oblivious to the hostile views, so abundantly disseminated via the Czech-language programs of foreign radio stations backed by anticommunist centers abroad and in our country complaisantly assisted by representatives of the so-called independent groups, especially "Charter 77." We must objectively see that over the past 2 years foreign and domestic hostile centers have stepped up their activities, that the "Chartists," whose active core consists of several dozen people, are trying to establish themselves—be it through their propaganda or by setting up various "independent" groups—in individual social or professional groups of the population. They are trying to penetrate artistic circles and scientific intelligentsia; they also would like to gain positions among the workers class, and are especially concentrating on inexperienced youth.

Characteristic of the activity of these illegal groups is the violation of the laws of our republic, ignoring the decisions of national committees and bodies ensuring public order, instigating civic disobedience, organizing illegal actions, publishing and disseminating illegal printed material. The political program which they submit is at variance with the fundamental principles of the socialist society, which are enshrined in the CSSR Constitution. It is precisely from their ranks that we hear voices saying that there is no restructuring in our country, that democratization is not being realized because they cannot be legally active, organize actions, and spread their views. From them we also mostly hear views that the party and state bodies have not been creating the necessary scope for dialogue, that dialogue cannot be conducted in our country. [passage omitted]

Dialogue is not a onesided presentation of unrealistic demands, infinite sterile discussions, or putting forward issues that are at variance with socialist principles—as it is done, for example, by representatives of the so-called independent groups. It is precisely they who want—under the banner of democratization—to force on the party and society a dialogue on problems which were already being solved by the national and democratic revolution and, then, definitely in February 1948. The "political problems" they have been presenting are nothing but a road into the past, to the restoration of institutions and the situation which existed prior to the February victory of the workers class and the working people. In the past 41 years the social and class structure of our society has changed so much that in our country there is no class base for legalizing opposition structures, which—as actions and programs of various illegal groups affirm—have, on the political plane, an antisocialist character. Demands, such as the restoration of private ownership of means of production, the elimination of planned management of the national economy, abolishing the leading role of the workers class and the CPCZ, the rise of "independent" groups, information media and cultural institutions, legalization of opposition, and such, fully affirm this.

We will not conduct a dialogue on these issues with anyone. The principles on which our socialist society is built are also the foundation of restructuring, they express the interests of the citizens of our country. Whoever asserts views and organizes actions which are at variance with socialist principles and objectively aim at their liquidation, excludes himself from the political life and must bear responsibility for it. [passage omitted]

At the present time it is not only the party that bears great responsibility, but also the social and special-interest organizations affiliated with the National Front, and the entire cultural front and the artists' unions. Progressive figures in culture have always been connected with the party and its struggle for social justice. The Communist Party has also always tried to create good conditions for the work of artists and other cultural workers. The fact is that also in this sphere a number of

problems have come to fruition, which must be resolved. The party and state bodies are gradually responsibly tackling the realization of justified demands. However, everyone must comprehend that not everything can be solved immediately, that here, too, we are constrained by our economic possibilities.

Artists' unions, communist artists, and all other creative workers, who have the fate of our socialist fatherland on their heart, currently have great possibilities to develop activity, to create new outstanding works in all spheres of the arts. Restructuring opens a broad scope for this. However, even in culture we cannot permit the misuse of restructuring for political activity against socialism, as has been attempted by some individuals. The lesson of the 1968-69 crisis, when people like A. J. Liehm, P. Kohout, J. Prochazka, A. Goldstuecker, V. Havel, and others misused cultural magazines and the leaderships of the artists' unions to support rightist policies, is still valid. [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Interviewed on Foreign Debt

AU2205194189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Jan Stejskal, minister of finance, by Vladimir Cechlovsky; date, place not given: "Possibilities Matching Results; With CSSR Government Minister Jan Stejskal on Topical Questions of Our Financial Policy"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Cechlovsky] From 1 January next year, all state enterprises are to move toward self-financing. Are they prepared for this step?

[Stejskal] One has to differentiate. On the one hand, there is a majority of state enterprises which have demonstrated their viability since their founding. In some organizations, on the other hand, it has been necessary to prepare and introduce a consolidation program to restore their financial situation to a sound footing.

[Cechlovsky] Should this not have been considered while these state enterprises were being founded?

[Stejskal] In drawing up proposals for state enterprises, the financial self-sufficiency of the enterprise served as one of the main criteria. Each organization was obliged to make calculations showing whether it will be capable of self-financing, not only in today's conditions, but also in the future.

[Cechlovsky] If this is so, then I do not understand why so many enterprises have had to prepare consolidation programs. Could such a radical change in their economic performance occur in such a short time?

[Stejskal] The aim of the consolidation programs is to prepare and, in particular, implement measures of a technical and economic nature that will allow them to overcome, essentially by their own force, certain temporary financial and payment difficulties, which are mostly a result of accumulated inventories. It would therefore be incorrect to speak about "bankruptcy," a term that has been used in the foreign press or in discussions among our citizens.

[Cechlovsky] Such a state of affairs was nothing rare in the past either. Nonetheless, enterprises did not have to draw up consolidation programs....

[Stejskal] Consolidation programs used to be applied even earlier, although they took different forms. In the past, however, we were often used to handling such situations by adjusting the plan, for instance, or by redistributing resources within an economic production unit or within a branch ministry. The financial situation of enterprises was of secondary importance. [passage omitted]

[Cechlovsky] In connection with the comprehensive restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices, some enterprises and even branch ministries have pointed to the low level of profit built into the new prices, while the burden of levies and taxes which organizations must carry remains high. They fear that this year they will be unable to fully finance their planned material tasks and needs. How will this situation be dealt with?

[Stejskal] Financial questions connected with the consequences of changes in wholesale prices and in other economic instruments from 1 January 1990 were considered by the CSSR Government this February. The Government approved principles and some extraordinary financial measures, whose validity will be confined to the year 1989. They make it possible—by means of relief and other modifications to mandatory taxes and levies or, where appropriate, by granting extraordinary subsidies for the year 1989—to bridge the disharmony between the new financial situation of organizations (or even branch ministries) following the recalculation according to the new prices and their financial needs as fixed in the tasks of the state plan for 1989, which were set in old prices last year. I want to stress, however, that these measures will allow enterprises to finance their planned needs only if they also generate the planned resources. In other words, in this way they will not be able to offset the consequences of their failure to fulfill the plan or even make additional claims over and above the level fixed in the 1989 plan. An important principle is that, even after the recalculation of the 1989 state budget according to the new prices, its overall equilibrium must be retained. I also want to say that a new system of levies and taxes will go into force at the beginning of 1990, which will consistently proceed from the new conditions. [passage omitted]

[Cechlovsky] How will difficulties be dealt with, for which enterprises themselves are not to blame? I am thinking of the consequences of former decisions, deformations of value instruments, and the like.

[Stejskal] So far it has not been possible to verify in practice all the consequences for and influences on the financial situation of organizations and on the state budgets and the budgets of national committees following the new wholesale and procurement prices; uniform normative rates, levies, taxes, and regulations; and organizational changes in the production-technical base. However, the state plan and the state budget can on no account, and will not, automatically and in advance offset the enterprises' dearth of financial resources. Far stronger pressure will be brought to bear on organizations to uncover their hidden potentials themselves. I have already discussed the system of financial measures for this year that are designed to deal with the impact of the recalculation of prices on the income situation of enterprises. As to other exemptions, reliefs, or other benefits, these can be extended only in grievous cases, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the causes of unfavorable economic results.

A proposal is also being discussed at present on how to balance out, from the financial viewpoint, the starting positions with which enterprises embark upon the new conditions. This proposal is based on the level of depreciation of the enterprises' fixed assets. The system for the regulation of economic development, too, will purposefully monitor the conduct of economic organizations and the development of their income situation and apply predominantly economic methods to deal with deviations from the intentions of the state plan.

[Cechlovsky] Would it not have been wiser not to rush the introduction of the new economic mechanism by moving the deadline ahead to 1 January 1990, but instead adhere to the original deadline? The center and enterprises alike would have been able to prepare themselves more thoroughly....

[Stejskal] There have been debates about this. I am convinced, however, that the decision about moving the deadline ahead is correct. [passage omitted] The longer the transition period would have lasted, the slower the required changes would be carried out, the slower people's approaches would change, and the slower the needed results would materialize. In the end, people themselves would criticize such a course of action. [passage omitted]

[Cechlovsky] Many readers have expressed fears lest the difficulties of the transition period be dealt with at the expense of foreign indebtedness....

[Stejskal] Our experience and the experience of some other countries shows that the path of running up an immoderate foreign debt is not effective and lacks good prospects for the Czechoslovak economy, especially if foreign credits are drawn for production or private consumption. Credit interest rates, too, are relatively high and a burden on the state's balance of payments.

[Cechlovsky] How is one to understand the term immoderate indebtedness? Could you be more specific?

[Stejskal] In the world one mostly proceeds from the premise that one can regard as "sustainable" a foreign debt for which the servicing—that is, the repayment of principal and interest rates on one's credits—is in the range of between 15 and 20 percent of the volume of exported goods and services.

[Cechlovsky] RUDE PRAVO recently obtained from the foreign press the information that our indebtedness in freely convertible currencies reached $5.2 billion in 1988. Last June, however, during the discussion of the closing state budget in the Federal Assembly, the sum of $3.7 billion was cited. What is the actual debt?

[Stejskal] Foreign publications often publish disparate data on the indebtedness of socialist countries. This is caused, for example, by the fact that some of them express the so-called gross indebtedness—that is, the level of credits taken abroad—while others express the so-called net indebtedness—credits taken abroad minus credits extended to abroad. Some publications even include the level of long-term and short-term claims and liabilities from enterprise credits in foreign trade. However, the most frequently used data internationally involve gross bank indebtedness, which records the decisive volume and movement of foreign indebtedness. This is also why the data provided to deputies represented gross bank indebtedness. The figure cited from foreign press evidently also includes some foreign credits taken by our foreign trade enterprises within the framework of routine commercial transactions. Their level is subject to great ups and downs in the course of the year. In evaluating this level, it is also necessary to bear in mind that, when exporting, our enterprises also extend credits to their foreign partners.

[Cechlovsky] The sum of $3.7 billion referred to the situation on 31 December 1987. What has changed since then?

[Stejskal] By 31 December 1988, gross bank indebtedness amounted to $3.8 billion, which means a moderate increase compared with 1987. [passage omitted]

[Cechlovsky] How do you evaluate this situation in Czechoslovakia?

[Stejskal] We rank among those countries whose overall claims abroad in freely convertible currencies have for several years already moderately exceeded their obligations abroad. At the same time, Czechoslovakia always strictly repays its foreign debts and is considered a reliable partner. From this viewpoint, our credit position is relatively favorable. This is also borne out by the rating of the so-called credit-worthiness, which is regularly published by the INSTITUTIONAL INVESTOR, a journal of U.S. entrepreneurs, where Czechoslovakia

ranks 35th in a world league of 105 countries. Among the socialist countries, the CSSR is one of the countries with the lowest foreign debt in freely convertible currencies.

In spite of this, we cannot be satisfied with the development of the currency economy in the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The growth rate of exports and of revenues in freely convertible currencies is lower than the plan projected; the efficiency of foreign trade is not improving conspicuously; and some of our claims vis-a-vis countries with a high foreign debt are not being repaid within the agreed time frames. On the other hand, the demands of enterprises and organizations for imports are growing year after year, which intensifies the uncalled-for strain in the state's balance of payments in the sphere of freely convertible currencies. As regards the development of overall indebtedness, we did not achieve the reduction foreseen in the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the amount of foreign credits which we obtained was even higher than planned.

This is why a strict foreign currency economy is needed. Effective this year, we have adopted important measures that will gradually change the economic standing of enterprises. They will reinforce the interdependence between the foreign currency funds available to enterprises for imports and the foreign exchange which they generate through exports. This concerns, in particular, the so-called foreign currency retention quotas [devizove normativy], which are one of the forms of self-financing in foreign currency. The incentives of manufacturing and foreign trade enterprises will no longer be based on the volume of material exports, but on the foreign currency which they collect for their exports and that is actually paid into their bank account.

Foreign currency exchange rates have also been adjusted and made more flexible. Work is under way on implementing some elements of a state-controlled foreign exchange market. Measures have also been taken that are aimed at improving the quality (credit-worthiness) of our claims abroad and at improving the material and time structure of granted and obtained foreign credits.

[Cechlovsky] What, then, will be our future policy with regard to foreign credits?

[Stejskal] Apart from the viewpoint of the "sustainability" of indebtedness, which I have already mentioned, from our viewpoint it is necessary to regard as optimal a situation when the volume of our claims and liabilities abroad, particularly of obtained and granted foreign credits, will as a matter of principle be in balance over the long term. This would also allow the creation of certain scope for the possibility of drawing additional credits abroad, should the need arise, provided, of course, that the necessary growth of national income and an efficient export of goods and services will be guaranteed at the same time. It is important to observe the principle that foreign credits will be obtained strictly for specific purposes, especially for imports of technology and for modernization projects, with a concrete recipient responsible for returnability and repayment.

[Cechlovsky] Thank you for the interview.

Obzina Hints at Differences of Opinion in CEMA

AU2305120789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 May 89 p 7

[Ladislav Alster commentary in the "A Note" column: "Matter-of-Fact Talks"]

[Text] The 131st session of the CEMA Executive Committee ended in Moscow on Thursday [18 May]. Its main task was to prepare documents for the session of CEMA, the highest body of the Council, which will take place in Sofia at the end of June.

The joint communique (published in RUDE PRAVO on Friday, 19 May) provides detailed information about the issues discussed. It intimates that the session of the Executive Committee concentrated on specific tasks closest at hand, and also that a certain progress and rapprochement of standpoints in long-term conceptual issues was registered.

What is this all about? It is necessary to finalize the restructuring of the CEMA mechanism and of the socialist economic integration. The current chairman of the Executive Committee, Andrey Lukanov from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, said that without unified political will manifested at the highest level it is impossible to achieve favorable results in restructuring. Only a meeting at the highest level can yield the necessary unification of standpoints. On the other hand, it is obvious that such consultation must be thoroughly prepared, and one still has not succeeded in doing this despite the great effort on part of the CSSR and some other member countries.

Economic life cannot stop, and when it does not have the necessary forms and documents at its disposal, it will find an alternative road. "We will have to conclude agreements among five socialist countries on integration problems, because we cannot wait for unanimity of views in CEMA," Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, and our permament representative to CEMA, has said thus outlining a possible solution.

Thus, the 45th session in Sofia has been prepared for. It should, among other things, stress that concluded treaties must be fulfilled. This is a principle which was already respected by the old Romans, and should be self-evident also in CEMA.

Knotek Confers With SFRY's Latin in Croatia

AU2405134889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 May 89 p 1

[CTK dispatch: "Attention Focused on Economic Cooperation; Premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic Visits Croatia"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb—Ivan Knotek, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR], who had arrived for a friendly working visit in the Socialist Republic of Croatia on Sunday [21 May], yesterday [22 May] visited the Croatian capital, Zagreb.

In the morning he was received by Ivo Latin, president of the Croatian Presidency. In a cordial talk they briefed each other on the topical sociopolitical events in the two countries. They concurrently stated that the achieved level of relations is very good and can serve as the foundation for future development. About 160 joint Yugoslav-Czechoslovak agreements are currently being fulfilled; approximately 70 of them are accounted for by the Slovak SR.

They focused the main part of their attention on economic cooperation and stated that, in the interests of both countries, it is essential to take up such modern forms of collaboration as production cooperation and joint entrepreneurship. The close links of cooperation between the Rade Koncar firm in Zagreb and the CALEX enterprise in Zlate Moravce are proof of the possibilities existing in this sphere, and also of the bilateral benefit yielded by such cooperation. [passage omitted]

Bulgarian Premier Plans Working Visit 6-7 Jun

LD2505160189 Prague CTK in English 1416 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Prague May 25 (CTK)—Bulgarian Premier Georgi Atanasov is going to pay a friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia on June 6-7, at the invitation of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav.

Norwegian Communist Interviewed on Visit, Departs

AU2405103089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 May 89 p 2

[CTK report: "At the End of the Visit"]

[Text] Prague—Kaare Andre Nilsen, chairman of the Norwegian Communist Party, who paid a visit to the CSSR at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], departed from Prague yesterday [19 May]. At the end of his stay he gave interview to Czechoslovak journalists. Asked how he assesses his visit and his impressions of Czechoslovakia, he said that he was very interested in the endeavor devoted by the CPCZ to the policy of economic reform and the democratization of society's life. "I was captivated by the experience of the CPCZ acquired from the dialogue within the party and in seeking a common language with those who do not follow the positions of its policy. I am convinced that the Czechoslovak Communists will find a good solution for this. The principles of socialist democracy have been systematically developing, among other things, in that that the share of the working people in the management of society is increasing. I also listened with attention to information on the development of ecological ethics in the further development of society. Asked about Norwegian Communists' attitude toward disputes within NATO over modernization of short-range tactical nuclear missiles, he said that a members of the Norwegian Communist Party also consider the treaty on the scrapping of intermediate- and short-range missiles to be a historical step. Asked about the Norwegian Communist Party's social and ecological policy, he said that the party is, among other things, interested in becoming involved in promoting environmental protection programs.

Lao Deputy Defense Minister Arrives 22 May

LD2205224289 Prague CTK in English 1849 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Prague May 22 (CTK)—Lao People's Revolutionary Party Politburo alternate member and Central Committee secretary, Laotian National Defence First Deputy Minister Lieutenant-General Choummlri Saynakone arrived here today for an official friendly visit of several days.

He was welcomed by Czechoslovak Deputy Defence Minister Lieutenant-General Emil Liska.

Daily Reviews Restructuring of MSZMP

AU2405165489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 89 p 7

["(ve)"-signed dispatch: "Conference of Reforms Circles in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party"]

[Text] Budapest (By our reporter)—About 10,000 of the more than 600,000 Communist members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] are now joining the reform circles. Their platform is a radical restructuring of the party.

The national conference of reform circles, held in Szeged on Saturday and Sunday [20 and 21 May], dealt with the issue of a "peaceful transition" from the existing state of the party, that is full of contradictions, to consolidated political pluralism. The conference was attended by 440 members of 110 reform circles and by three members of the party's Central Committee Politburo—**Imre Pozsgay, Pal Vastagh, and Rezso Nyers.**

The conference, and the statement of attitude it adopted, claim that the party is responsible for the current crisis in the society; for this reason they consider the party's

radical renewal to be essential. The reform circles see the way out of the situation in the creation of a "national political program," in the election of a leadership that would deserve to be trusted, and in shaping a membership that could be mobilized. For this, they say, it is necessary to convene an extraordinary MSZMP congress in autumn 1989, instead of the national conference, as the Central Committee had decided.

The conference has confirmed that the reform circles are pressure groups inside the party. The conference resounded with the sharp criticism of the entire structure of leading party bodies for allegedly hampering the restructuring process within the party, and with voices rejecting democratic centralism and proposing that the name MSZMP be changed to "Hungarian Socialist Party" or "Democratic Socialist People's Party."

Drop in Tourism to Hungary Due to Prices

AU2405140289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 May 89 p 2

["(bn)"-signed dispatch: "No Changes for Trips to Hungary"]

[Excerpts] Prague (By our reporter)—The almost 3.6 million Czechoslovak tourists who had traveled to Hungary in 1988 accounted for 31 percent of all foreign tourists from the socialist countries. Last year's 26.8-percent drop in tourism, compared with 1987, is explained by the price increases in the country. [passage omitted]

According to Ilona Legradiova, deputy head of a department in Hungary's National Command of Customs and Financial Guards, the Czechoslovak tourists are among the most disciplined tourists in Hungary. Last year the Hungarian customs authorities had to deal with only 78 misdemeanors, and even those were due to a lack of knowledge of existing regulations.

Polish Tank Manufacturer Cuts Production

AU2405100289

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 May on page 6 carries a 1,500-word article by Pavol Minarik, the paper's correspondent in Warsaw, entitled "An Armaments Factory Puts on Plain Clothes." The article deals with the author's undated visit to the "formerly secret premises" of the "Bumar" Mechanical Plant in Labedy near Gliwice, which manufactures military equipment.

Minarik quotes Ryszard Jankowski, general director of the plant, as having told him that, since its founding 38 years ago, the plant's main production program consisted of "production for the needs of the defense industry," starting with the T-34 and T-54 tanks, "up to the most modern T-72's." Speaking about the impact of the "declining demand for new tanks and similar military technology" on the "Bumar" plant, Minarik says: "Last year already, the production of tanks in Lebedy declined 30 percent. Orders for this year cover barely one-third of the combine's production capacity. Next year the management of the enterprise reckons with another decline of special production by roughly one-half."

In the body of the item, Minarik discusses the plans of the "Bumar" management to switch the distribution between production for the defense industry and civilian production from the former 90 to 10 ratio to a 10 to 90 ratio. He dwells on the difficulties connected with the future use of the plant's "mostly modern and highly productive" equipment and with keeping its 13,000 staff employed. He mentions that the management intends to concentrate on the production of cranes, excavators, and mine loaders, all of them products for which there is demand in Poland and abroad, and that it would like to cooperate with "Czechoslovak partners from Martin, Dubnica, Brno, and elsewhere" with whom it has cooperated in the production of military equipment. According to Minarik, the Poles are particularly interested in Czechoslovak hydraulics and axles.

CPSL Plenum Deals With Problems of Education

AU2405150389

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 13 May on pages 3 and 4, on 15 May on page 3, and on 16 May on page 3 publishes 16 statements made during the debate at the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL) Central Committee session held in Bratislava on 11 May. The 17th discussion statement, made by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee, is available only in the synopsis included in the referent report on the plenum. The 16 discussion speeches published by PRAVDA, which are devoted largely to the problems of Czechoslovak education, total about 20,000 words. The speakers do not include any members or candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and any CPCZ Central Committee secretaries. The only member of the Slovak party leadership to have spoken in the debate was Stefan Rybar, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Bratislava CPSL City Committee.

In their statements most speakers affirm the problems of Czechoslovak schools that were discussed at the CPCZ plenum on education on 30 and 31 March, such as the shortage of qualified teachers and educators (which is blamed on the low pay and social prestige of the profession); the slow construction of school buildings (because schools do not figure among "mandatory" projects and are consequently neglected by building firms) and the resulting lack of classrooms (according to one speaker, 42,000 pupils in Slovakia are taught in the "second shift"); excessive bureaucracy in the management of schools and universities; and the predominance of women in the teaching profession.

Some speakers address specific problems. Stefan Rybar, the Bratislava party chief, discusses the "unfavorable material-technical and social conditions" on the Mlynska Dolina university campus in Bratislava. He draws attention to the shortage of study rooms, sports facilities, and shopping and catering facilities there, to the "large-scale technical defects" in the dormitories and their slow elimination, to the nonobservance of the prescribed minimum space per student, and to the "very bad transportation" to the universities and warns that "any delay in the solution to all these serious problems could have serious negative political consequences."

Speaking about the political situation in the dormitories, Rybar then says: "The path of restructuring on which we have set out is connected with overcoming bureaucratic methods of management and stereotypes, with searching for new, unconventional solutions, and with deepening socialist democracy. Outwardly, these aims are also being endorsed by forces that would like to misuse the process of democratization for their own antisocialist goals. We have already registered attempts by illegal structures to infiltrate students and student dormitories and to operate in them, to win students over to their side by means of demagogic slogans, and to use the dormitories' premises for preaching their views. This happened on 10 April 1989 in the Young Guard student dormitory, where the Charter aktivists Kusy, Simecka, and Carnogursky came out against the CPCZ's policy during a political education class of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM]. So far, they have not found fertile soil here on any large scale, yet we cannot underestimate these tendencies. We will not stand idly by and watch attempts at subversive influence on young people; we have taken vigorous steps to prevent such attempts. These steps concern not only administrative measures preventing unauthorized persons from entering the premises of student dormitories but, in particular, an improvement of the educational quality of the teaching process and of the political-educational work by the SSM and by CPSL primary organizations and an active and meaningful utilization of leisure time. We demand, and will demand, that party and school functionaries regularly conduct an informal dialogue with students, that they expose the reactionary orientation and actual mission of the illegal structures. It must be clear to every student, let alone a teacher, that, in defiance of the nice-sounding slogans that are used, these are activities that are alien to socialism and aimed at its disintegration. In connection with this we regard it as important to see to it that the aktiv of lecturers and teachers improves its knowledge and arguments that are necessary for struggle against these forces and that all school and dormitory undertakings are consistently prepared in organizational terms and in terms of their content."

In his statement, Rybar also praises the fact that 26 percent of all teachers in Bratislava are party members (43.4 percent of university teachers, 22.9 percent of secondary school teachers, and 18.3 percent of primary school teachers), which is a greater proportion than in other social groups and allows "the deepening of the leading role of the party" in the sphere of education. Speaking about the organization of students in the party, Rybar mentions that the proportion of students who are party members or candidate members has decreased 0.6 percent since 1986 and that "measures have been taken to stop this decline and to achieve the same proportion of organized students as in 1986." However, in this context Rybar also emphasizes that "we cannot succumb to pressures on an inordinate increase in the number of students organized in the party," in view of the "overall situation in the city party organization, in which the proportion of workers in the members base has declined 1.5 percent since 1986."

Beata Kacejova, candidate member of the CPSL Central Committee, deputy director of the Computer Technology Center for Transportation in Bratislava, criticizes in her statement the "bad situation in the teaching of foreign languages." She says that the limited availability of foreign language classes "breeds elitism and undemocratic practices." She also describes the annually recurring situation prior to the enrollment for the Bratislava language school, when people "wait outside from Sunday morning and through the night" to secure a place for themselves, and criticizes the Bratislava National Committee for ignoring the problem. Kacejova advocates the introduction of mandatory English classes at primary school level. She argues that English forms the basis of the computer language and that "being a small nation, we must learn the languages of big nations. This is neither something humiliating nor something denationalizing, but it is the exigency of the day."

Stefan Ferencei, member of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak People's Control Committee, who is of Hungarian nationality, stresses in his statement the importance of bilingual education for ethnic minorities: "The consistent implementation of bilingual education, the improvement of the instruction of the mother tongue and of Slovak, and the improvement of the standard and preparation of pupils at all types and levels of schools for the nationalities is a correct and necessary demand. This formulation is not only correct, but also topical. Not only because in the past other tendencies, too, were making themselves felt in our life—tendencies neglecting the mother tongue, the instruction of which used to be restricted by administrative means and even by efforts at legal norms that would legalize such activity—but also because the path of rapprochement between nations and nationalities cannot lead via restrictions but only via the voluntary principle and via development. This is particularly important when language issues are involved. The only way out is an improved instruction of the mother tongue and of Slovak. Restrictions have always led to misunderstandings and alienation."

Jozef Hrebik, member of the CPSL Central Committee, commander of the Eastern Military District, discusses problems at secondary military schools, caused by the

poor quality of freshman students. He says in this context: "The situation is adversely affected by the fact that when beginning their studies, many accepted applicants do not have a definitely formed attitudes toward the military profession and are not ready to succumb to the requirements of military discipline. Among a substantial part of applicants for study at military secondary schools we come across accentuated neuroticism and other negative personal traits. In the years to come, we will have to be stricter in our selection in this respect.

"The level of knowledge and the moral but also volitive qualities of applicants taking up study at military secondary schools are low compared with applicants for civilian schools of similar orientation. This is also demonstrated by the results of admission interviews. During this year's admission procedures, for example, eighth grade primary school pupils recorded an average of 2.96 in math and an average of 3.12 in the mother tongue. An additional factor at present are also non-class pacifistic influences on some pupils and students that are being spread by antisocialist forces and the political opposition."

Hrebik contends that, thanks to the day-long, boarding-school system of study and individual work with students by teachers and commanders, students of military schools undergo "qualitative growth" during the 4 years of study, so that graduates are "on par" with graduates of civilian schools.

Cadre Changes in Socialist Youth Union

AU2205094589 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 18 May 89 p 4

["sm"-signed report: "One Must Keep in Touch With the Demands and Views of Youth"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Cadre Changes

On the basis of the proposal of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] Central Committee, the seventh session of the SSM Central Committee [held in Prague on 17 May] released J. Meitner from the posts of member and secretary of the SSM Central Committee Secretariat, and from the post of member of the SSM Central Committee. It expressed high appreciation for his work in the SSM and the Pioneer Organization functions. As an expression of recognition of his work for the development of the unified children's and youth organization he was granted the highest award—Honorary Member of the SSM. J. Mraz, J. Kunc, L. Voros, and J. Zacik, too, were released from the SSM Central Committee. Also their work was praised.

P. Cada, S. Klima, L. Matousek, H. Mudrova, J. Novotny, I. Richter, M. Risa, Z. Sykora, F. Sima, M. Ulcak, and J. Urban were coopted as members of the SSM Central Committee.

Further, the seventh SSM Central Committee session elected the newly elected chairman of the Central Committee of the SSM's Pioneer Organization, Stanislav Klima, as member of the Presidium, Secretariat, and secretary of the SSM Central Committee. It elected Martin Ulcak, chairman of the Prague SSM City Committee, to be a member of the SSM Central Committee Presidium, and Ivan Richter to be director of the SSM Central Committee's Young Art facility [M-Art zarizeni].

A Social-Legal Commission of the SSM Central Committee was approved; SSM Central Committee secretary Edita Jocikova has become its chairwoman. Changes were carried out in the composition of the SSM Central Committee's Intra-Union Commission. I. Chocholous was released from his function as head of the SSM Central Committee's special-interest section. His long-time work was appreciated by his being appointed Honorary Member of the SSM. [passage omitted]

Analysis of Jan Palach Suicide Case Revived

AU2305182489

[Editorial Report] Prague HALO SOBOTA No 20 in Czech on 20 May carries on page 6 a 4,500-word article by LLD Pavel Vojna, candidate of sciences and senior scientific staffer at the Criminology Research Institute of the CSSR Prosecutor General's Office, entitled "Revived Suicide Case; On the Track of Investigations 20 Years Ago." Vojna notes the "incidents" on the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's suicide by self-immolation and says that, like all suicides, this was not a heroic deed, but a serious case for the psychiatrist, "probably" organized by others. The investigations were broken off and never reopened, Vojna states, mostly due to the disinterest of the government figures in office at the time. He describes in detail the role played by the former chairman of the Czech and Moravian students' union at Palach's deathbed and later, and states that, if the apparatus of power is paralyzed, violations of law and chaos must ensue. Vojna explains at length how important it is to revert to Palach's case in view of recent events, and deplores the fact that the question of accomplices in the suicide was never followed up.

Lessons From First Multicandidate Elections

AU2305102789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 16 May on page 3 carries a 3,700-word transcript of a roundtable discussion, entitled "Democracy, Too, Must Be Learned," on lessons from the by-elections for the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils of 20 April, which were the first multicandidate elections in Czechoslovakia. The place and date of the discussion, which was "prepared" by Marie Konigova and Daniela Mannova, are not given. The panelists include Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly; Jaroslav Jeneral, deputy head of a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee

department; Jan Chlumsky, secretary of the electoral commission of the Czech National Front; and Lubos Behalek, newly elected deputy to the Federal Assembly for Teplice district.

Evaluating the 20 April by-elections, the panelists say that most voters welcomed the opportunity to choose from several candidates, took a greater interest in the elections, and displayed "greater activity" during the election campaign. Jeneral notes, for example, that about 100,000 people participated in the pre-election rallies, which was twice as many as during previous by-elections.

However, many panelists also criticize some aspects of the by-elections and propose improvements for the future. Some of them point to the shortage of time, which forced candidates to go through too many election meetings in too short a time and accounted for "much formalism" at these meetings. Kucera says, for example: "You cannot conduct a dialogue with people between the end of the working day and the departure of the bus. At many a meeting they had fewer than 30 minutes for the presentation of candidates."

Several speakers also deplore the fact that candidates in the latest by-elections were unable to present their own election programs (because the by-elections took place in the middle of the election period), with the result that the election speeches of all candidates were "very similar to one another."

Another point that is criticized is that the voters did not have a say in the selection of candidates but were introduced to them after their registration. Kucera and Jeneral both argue that voters should have an opportunity to deliver their opinion on the candidates before they are registered and that the "general public" (and not just National Front bodies as this time) should be involved in the selection of candidates. Kucera also proposes that the new electoral law set a minimum period between the calling of an election and the registration of candidates (the existing law only sets the minimum time between the calling of an election and the election itself).

Another proposal that is made concerns the enlargement of present constituencies and the introduction of constituencies with more than one seat, which should ensure a more equitable representation of all social and demographic groups. Kucera says that the present system, with one seat for each constituency, introduces "emotional and irrational elements" into elections and puts candidates at an advantage who can "talk better rather than those who may, perhaps, be able to work better." This is confirmed by Jeneral, who points out that all candidates elected during the 20 April by-elections were middle-aged men. None of the registered women candidates, young candidates, and candidates over 60 got elected. Jeneral says: "These are experiences that need to be evaluated. After all, it is not possible not to have these groups of people represented in parliament. The corps of deputies must, after all, be a reflection of the structural composition of the country's populace."

Some panelists also criticize the existing electoral law for putting at an advantage the top-listed candidate on the ballot, since ballot papers on which no names were crossed out count as votes for the candidate who is listed first. Jeneral proposes, for example, that the new electoral law that is now on the drawing board enshrine the principle that a ballot paper to which no alterations were made count as a vote for all candidates listed on it.

Honecker Congratulates Gorbachev on Election
LD2505203889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2005 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, sent Mikhail Gorbachev the following state telegram:

In the name of the SED Central Committee, the Council of State, and the entire people of the German Democratic Republic, I send you the warmest congratulations on your election as chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This decision of the highest people's representation of the USSR is renewed proof of the great authority you have achieved as the highest representative of the party of Lenin and of the Soviet state. At the same time your action, which is rich in initiative, for the cause of peace so dear to all peoples is thereby honored.

I am deeply convinced that the proven community of struggle and the unbreakable friendship between our parties, states, and peoples will develop and be consolidated in the future in the interests of socialism and the security of peace.

Dear Mikhail Sergeyevich, with all my heart I wish you creative power, health, and much success in your responsible activity.

Sudanese Parliamentarians Arrive for Visit
LD2305045689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1042 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A delegation from the constituent assembly of the Republic of Sudan, headed by its speaker, Faruq 'Ali Birayr [name as received], arrived in Berlin today for a 5-day visit to the GDR. The delegation was cordially greeted by Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, who gave a reception in honor of the guests.

During their stay, the visitors will have the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the structure and working methods of the People's Chamber and to gain information on socialist democracy during talks with deputies in the Leipzig Bezirk [area].

Talks With Stoph, Fischer
LD2405092689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1804 GMT 23 May 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Talks between Sudanese parliamentarians and leading GDR officials in Berlin today were marked by agreement on basic issues of support for peace and international detente. Thus intensified efforts are needed to allow disarmament to continue while military parity is respected, it was stated during a friendly talk between Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph, and a delegation from the Constituent assembly of the Republic of Sudan, led by its speaker, Faruq 'Ali Birayr [name as received].

Willi Stoph outlined the initiatives and unilateral prior concessions of the socialist states, including the GDR, which have to be met with corresponding measures by the NATO states.

Faruq 'Ali Birayr referred to the wide-ranging efforts of the Sudanese people to successfully solve the complex internal problems of the country. In foreign policy, Sudan directs its efforts in accordance with the principles of nonalignment.

The two sides agreed that the elimination of colonialism, racism, and the policy of apartheid in Africa is a decisive precondition for guaranteeing all peoples of this continent sovereign and equal development in line with their national interests. During the talk Willi Stoph and Faruq 'Ali Birayr discussed possibilities for deepening their bilateral relations. The exchange of views with Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer focused on current questions of bilateral relations, international development, and the situation in the Middle East and Africa. The GDR's constructive peace policy and the wide-ranging disarmament initiatives of the Warsaw Pact were explained to the Sudanese guests. Oskar Fischer said that efforts by Western forces who are attempting to introduce a new disarmament process with compensation and modernization have to be steadfastly countered. The implementation of unilateral disarmament steps begun by the socialist states in Europe demonstrates their determination to ban war from the life of mankind forever.

Turning to the new trends in the efforts for eliminating regional conflict situations, the two sides referred to the need to initiate a process of settlement in the Middle East, too. The convening of the international Middle East conference with the participation of the involved parties including the PLO and the five permanent security council members, is a suitable way toward this.

The two sides agreed that the agreements on solving the conflict in South-West Africa, which open up the way to Namibian independence and end direct military aggression by South Africa against Angola, must now be observed responsibly by all involved parties. They stressed the importance of the efforts of the states in the Horn of Africa to develop their relations on the basis of trust and good-neighborliness for the continuation of the detente process. The two sides expressed their satisfaction about the good state of friendly relations. [passage omitted]

Communique Issued on Visit by Belgian Delegation
AU2405170489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 May 89 p 6

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A Belgian economic mission, chaired by His Royal Highness Prince Albert and headed by Foreign Trade Minister Robert Urbain, visited the

GDR from 16-19 May, it is stated in the joint communique on the conclusion of the visit. During their visit, Prince Albert and Minister Robert Urbain were received by Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Talks were also held with Dr Kurt Singhuber, minister of ore mining, metallurgy, and potash; Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; Dr Hans-Joachim Lauck, minister of construction of heavy machinery and equipment; Dr Guenther Wyschofsky, minister of chemical industry; and State Secretary Peter Krause, acting minister of construction of machine tools and processing machinery.

In the course of the talks, both sides thoroughly took stock of the development of trade and economic relations, the communique continues. Both sides stated concurrently that, so far, the long-term plan on the development of economic, industrial, and technological cooperation signed in October 1987 has proved to be an efficient instrument to develop trade and economic relations and to intensify economic cooperation.

In general, the development of economic relations between the GDR and Belgium, especially in 1988 and at the beginning of this year, were assessed positively.

With satisfaction, both sides have also taken note of the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EC, and between the GDR and the EC. They expressed their conviction that the relations will positively influence the cooperation between the GDR and the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union.

Both sides agree that greater attention has to be attached to intensifying cooperation between Belgian and GDR firms on third markets, and that influence has to be exerted to add substance to the respective agreements.

In the course of these meetings, the opportunities to extend cooperation were discussed and comprehensive new fields and forms of cooperation were stressed, the document states. Both sides are interested in further developing and extending economic relations.

Concrete agreements on the participation of Belgian enterprises in implementing investment projects in the GDR and on Belgian supplies to GDR foreign trade enterprises were concluded with several Belgian firms in the fields of textile machinery construction, glass production, and chemical products.

As a result of negotiations between Belgian firms and GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises, conditions were created to speedily increase GDR exports to Belgium, such as machine tools, cranes, furnaces, structural components for textile machines, lamps, brown coal, brown coal coke, and metallurgical and chemical products, it is stated in the communique.

Both sides have agreed that the 10th conference of the joint commission of the GDR and the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union will be held in Brussels in the second half of the year and they have instructed the chairman of the two sides of the joint commission to assess the implementation of the program resulting from the economic delegation's visit and to make appropriate recommendations in accordance with it.

During their visit, Prince Albert and Minister Urbain had a talk with journalists. In its course, Prince Albert stressed the things that the two countries have in common and recalled the traditional cooperation between the GDR and Belgium. Minister Urbain expressed the willingness to further deepen economic cooperation.

Tisch Addresses FDGB National Executive Council

AU2405084589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 May 89 p 3

[Excerpts] Berlin (ND)—At their eighth session in Berlin, the members of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] National Executive Council discussed the implementation of the many proposals, suggestions, and projects that were submitted within the framework of the wide-ranging people's discussion during trade union and local elections. Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, said that the activities and initiatives in the 40th year of the founding of the GDR are aimed at making a good and independent contribution of trade unions to the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Harry Tisch said that the trade union elections, the manifestations of will on May Day, the local elections, and the Free German Youth [FDJ] Whitsun rally have emphatically demonstrated that the general line of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] to do everything for the people's benefit and the preservation of peace, inspires confidence. He said that it also motivates people to achieve appreciable results in work and in social activities. "Our Free German Trade Union Federation actively helps shape all spheres of the socialist society. Its attention is in particular focused on the stable and dynamic development of our national economy," added Tisch.

Social Security—an Important Motor

The chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council stressed that social security has always proved to be an essential value of our social system. High performance on the job and safeguarding social interests constitute an inseparable whole, said Tisch. Therefore, it is our task to consistently implement the performance principle. "With the distribution depending on the quality and quantity of the work performed, every worker sees by his income that good work pays," said Harry Tisch. He added that particular importance must be attached to the application of bonus payments and incentives. [passage omitted]

Broad Discussion of Collective Agreements

Harry Tisch said that member meetings and enterprise collective agreements are important forms of trade union influence. An average 86 percent of the working people took part in the democratic discussion of the roughly 25,000 enterprise collective agreements for 1989. However, it is necessary to formulate these agreements even more clearly and more concretely, and to drop every baliast, said Tisch.

Regarding the GDR's 40th anniversary, Harry Tisch stressed: "What we have achieved is noteworthy. It continues the tradition of what Marx and Engels established scientifically, and what took practical shape for the first time during the October Revolution in Lenin's country. We will continuously continue our well-tried course in line with the objective requirements." [passage omitted]

DKP, Youth Association Threatened by Division

AU2505161689 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 May 89 p 1

["hll/hkk" report: "Socialist German Workers Youth Threatened by Division"]

[Text] Bonn/Frankfurt, 23 May—The leadership of the German Communist Party (DKP) is facing a purge. It is expected that at the session of the party presidium next weekend, Birgit Radow and Werner Stuermann, who are both considered as part of the presidium's wing of "renewers," will be expelled from the leading body. Thus the trend of division within the DKP and its youth association, the Socialist German Workers Youth (SDAJ), might get a new impetus, because the "reformers" are not expected to accept the verdict without a fight.

The division of the SDAJ, whose chairwoman is still Birgit Radow, only seems to be a question of time. Some SDAJ officials predicted in Bonn on Tuesday [23 May] that the national conference in Dortmund in June will witness a "great bang." Several wings within the SDAJ vie for the future of the association, and thus also for names, money, and files. The number of members, which the Office for the Protection of the Constitution estimates at 15,000, is kept secret by the SDAJ.

Opposition groups call for opinion pluralism within the SDAJ, do not want "to be restricted to a single position," and reject the DKP's political tutelage and interference in matters of the youth association. It was reported that at the moment there is "no joint preparation for the congress" in Dortmund. The Baden-Wuerttemberg land association, whose chairman Patrick Koebele will run for the post of SDAJ federal chairman, reportedly no longer supplies membership fees to the central body in protest against efforts to change the organization.

SDAJ officials in Bonn said that the candidacy of the "overly party-loyal" Koebele is to be opposed by a "coordinating committee" or a "council of spokesmen." The congress will show whether the SDAJ becomes a "doctrinarian sect" or whether a new "democratic youth association, albeit with little influence" will remain.

In view of the worldwide movement within the communist camp, the DKP is also affected by the increasingly critical controversy over the right course between "renewers" and "orthodox," with the "reformers" setting up their own organizational structures for the first time. The presidium's dramatic appeal to all members to preserve the unity of the party was recently published in the party paper UZ. There the presidium officially confirmed that "the minority within the party has been organizing its own structures on a federal scale" at a great number of so-called "trend" or "renewal" meetings, which have been held in several party districts during the past few weeks. The paper expressly mentions a "secret meeting" of officials in early May, which was also attended by SDAJ Chairwoman Birgit Radow, and the head of the DKP Presidium's ecological committee, Werner Stuermann.

As it did at the DKP congress in Frankfurt in early January, during which leading representatives of the "renewers" were voted out of the party's leading bodies, the presidium threatens "to make a decision." It admits that there is "a flood of requests for change," a "credibility crisis," and it even exercises "self-criticism," but at the same time the representatives of the minority are warned not to continue their course. They started to "cast another party concept into a statutory form" and "in practice to proceed to establish a second party within the party."

This process, for which "the organizers of the minority alone bear full responsibility" according to the DKP presidium, "will inevitably lead to the break-away of a minority from the DKP," if it is not stopped. The party leadership lamented that even now "decisions are only followed incompletely or not at all in certain places, because the binding character of majority decisions is—at least in practice—not recognized."

The letter "to all member" states that this "extraordinary severe situation" will most probably not change. Despite the party leadership's warning, some 500 DKP and SDAJ members from the district of Rhineland-Westphalia convened in Bonn for yet another "trend meeting" last weekend. They prepared a nationwide "meeting of minorities" in June, which is to be a further stage toward a "renewal congress" in the fall. This congress is expected to provide for a final ideological discussion.

The participants in the Bonn meeting spoke up in favor of "different forms of actions and opinions that are equally valid and are permitted to exist side by side."

Horn Interviewed on Nagy Case, Revisionism

LD2505182689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] The execution of Imre Nagy took place in part under the pressures of the line called the fight against international revisionism. This is what Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said. Miklos Martin-Kovacs spoke with him.

[Begin recording] [Martin-Kovacs] What is it that you feel is not entirely clear in the Imre Nagy case?

[Horn] There are several matters whose better clarification would not be a bad thing.

[Martin-Kovacs] For example, I am thinking of the nonmention of him being taken to court, or of a sentence being passed on him. When did this become such a case, and mainly, for what reason?

[Horn] In this connection, our assessment has been formed on the basis of the documents, the Hungarian documents and the earlier, Soviet documents and others. We did this on the basis of very careful studying. Of course it is not just an analysis but on this basis we also drew conclusions, that at that time, in the 1957-58 period. A very tough restoration process got underway in the Soviet Union as well, as opposed to the 20th congress. In my opinion, as we analyze it in the document—and we would like to discuss it again with the participation of the historical subcommittee and historians, so that the picture and assessment should be complete—the proceedings related to Imre Nagy's team took place in the spirit of the struggle against revisionism, or the fight against revisionism, so to speak. [end recording]

Further on Interview

LD2505222589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] Gyula Horn, in his talks in Yugoslavia, gained information on the political processes preceding the execution of Imre Nagy. After his return home, the official spoke to Miklos Martin-Kovacs.

[Begin recording] [Horn] In the 1957-58 period a very tough restoration got under way in the Soviet Union as well, as opposed to the 20th congress, and in several other socialist countries as well as in the international communist movement. In the spirit of this restoration the relationship was greatly exacerbated with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] that was formulated in the autumn of 1957, which the LCY Congress adopted in April, 1958, and which the other communist parties nearly unanimously qualified as a gravely mistaken revisionist program.

At this time, there was a formulation of theses to the effect that revisionism is a major danger, or truly primary danger, vis-a-vis dogmatism, because revisionism allies itself with the external enemy. In my opinion—and we would like to discuss it again with the participation of the historical subcommittee historians—the proceedings related to Imre Nagy's team took place in the spirit of the so-called struggle against revisionism.

[Martin-Kovacs] To what extent are you personally surprised by these discoveries, these documents, which you are encountering?

[Horn] As someone in foreign affairs, who has been in this career for nearly 30 years, I knew and was aware earlier that the link was very close, but I still did not think that the hand-control [keziranyitas] from Moscow was so powerful. For example, that every essential personnel, cadre issue was decided, not here, but there, or was decided under prompting from there.

That is one thing that hits one in the chest. At the same time I consider it an extremely important matter that mainly since the election of Gorbachev as general secretary, the Soviet-Hungarian relationship has changed radically in this sense, as well. I am of the judgement that at present we decide in a truly sovereign manner our steps, including personnel, cadre affairs as well. So, this entire survey supports how important it is that there should be no intervention from the outside in a country's internal matters.

We are working on this entire material, which surveys the events of the Hungarian past from 1945 to May 1988 and the international effects, aspects of this process, and in which there will be new things which place our entire past in another light, but I would like to emphasize that there is not one single statement in that material which is not based on facts and documents.

[Martin-Kovacs] There are assessments according to which properly speaking a silent revolution is taking place in Hungary, which can be verified by the facts you mentioned. To what extent do you agree with this assessment?

[Horn] I already voiced this earlier, as my personal opinion. What is very important is that the revolutionary transformation—and this is what I consider it to be—should not come about by some kind of radical, perhaps violent means, but by basically peaceful political means. [end recording]

Budapest Party Members Urge Congress

LD2605094289 Budapest MTI in English 1627 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—At the forthcoming Monday session of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee, it is expected that the issue of Imre Nagy will also be raised. Based on recent comments by several leading politicians, it is hoped that the party's standpoint will emerge at the session, reported Janos Barbas, member of the HSWP

CC [Central Committee] secretary of the Budapest party committee, meeting with journalists Thursday. Mr Barabas stated he is in agreement on the issue with Matyas Szuros, speaker of the parliament and Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs. He pointed out that Budapest party members are urging the holding of a party congress and not a party conference.

In response to questions, Mr Barabas said that it is the task of the government to provide facilities for the newly emerging political organizations, with the backing of the party. The buildings available have been constructed with state financing.

In conclusion Mr Barabas disclosed that membership of the Budapest party apparatus has recently decreased by 20 per cent and the trend is continuing. In the past ten months, the number of party members in Budapest has dropped from 216,000 to 180,000.

Nemeth in Vienna for Nagymaros Talks 25 May

LD2505115989 Budapest MTI in English 1033 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Vienna, May 25 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth arrived in Vienna on Thursday to hold talks with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky on issues related to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage.

The talks began immediately Mr Nemeth arrived at Schwarzenberg Palace in the heart of Vienna. The working meeting is being attended by experts only.

The prime ministerial talks are to be followed by a press conference in the early afternoon.

Assembly Committee Discusses Dam Construction

LD2305213989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The National Assembly ad hoc committee dealing with the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam has met in session in Gyor. We learned that Miklos Varga, state secretary for environmental protection, does not really understand why construction was halted. Sandor Forgacs reports.

[Forgacs] Janos Varga, deputy from County Pest, again said that they did not have enough information. A statement by the state secretary that the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Management is not familiar with new facts that would justify halting Nagymaros was in accord with this statement, and for this reason was surprising. However, the government advisory body and the academy's ad hoc committee consider the decision to be a realistic possibility. Yet, according to Dr Varga, the ministry is not familiar with the reasons for this.

Nemeth Comments on Economic Matters Reported

LD2305083889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 May 89

[Laszlo Garday report on Premier Miklos Nemeth meeting with deputies—date, place not given]

[Text] Premier Miklos Nemeth has met with independent deputies. Laszlo Garday reports:

[Garday] The premier received 22 questions in writing before the meeting. He gave detailed answers to each of them. In connection with the situation of pensioners and those on small incomes, the premier gave an account of various measures being planned.

[Begin Nemeth recording] We have begun a survey to see how we can ensure the provision of at least one hot meal a day. This is part of the program dealing with poverty. In the case of schoolchildren in need, we are considering the gradual introduction of free text books in the general schools. We would like to use guaranteed minimum wages, guaranteed minimum social provisions, automatic measures to preserve real values, for example in the case of family supplements. We are considering linking these to the cost of living from next year. We would like to introduce new social security measures, for example the development of unemployment insurance. [end recording]

[Garday] The premier said the following regarding our stock of debts: At present the country pays interest on a net debt of $14.5 billion. This year this represents repayments of $1.3 billion. Of the sums owed to us $2.7 billion cannot be recovered. This is the consequence of a number of mistaken decisions.

At present there are six large investment projects under way in the country and 60 are being prepared. The Paks project has cost 90 billion [currency not specified], while coal production at Mecsek would require about 30 million, although the program is being reviewed. According to the original plans, 54 billion forints was allocated to the water barrage, of which 17 billion has already been used up. At today's comittee meeting it was said that, according to calculations, the investment could never be recovered. Yamburg will cost 65 billion, according to the plans. The premier promised at today's consultation that from now on he will always ask the National Assembly's consent before starting on a new large investment.

The deputies asked how much so-called international support had to be provided during the past 5 years.

[Begin Nemeth recording] First of all, there are official interstate aids. In 1989, these aids amount to 2 billion forints. In the 4 years between 1985 and 1988 we spent a total of 5.2 billion forints on this. There are also government credits, when, for some purpose an enterprise is helped to deliver abroad because it can only do so

in the form of a government credit. We are reducing this in the package plan which we are putting forward. We have reduced it by 1 billion and we shall reduce it by a further 500 million forints. There are also direct forms of providing help for certain countries, for example in the case of Cuban sugar. [end recording]

[Garda] In brief, this means that we are buying Cuban sugar at a price higher than the world market price. This is so because of CEMA agreement reached a long time ago.

Sit-Down Strike Staged Outside PRC Embassy

LD2505174289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] [Presenter] Regarding the topic of China, a sit-down strike was organized by The Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] at the PRC Embassy in Budapest. (Zsuzsa Koncz), my colleague, chatted with the demonstrators, although when she got there every sit-down striker was still standing.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified demonstrator] We will sit down within minutes. The objective is to express solidarity.

[(Koncz)] Very few people have come from FIDESZ.

[First demonstrator] If we had organized things better, probably very many more would have come.

[Second unidentified demonstrator] This is a solidarity strike. The essence is not how many of us gather together. By this, we want to show that from Beijing, via Warsaw to Budapest, the same processes are taking place, mistakes stemming from the same systems have led to the crisis in China and in Hungary, as well, which we here are living through, and the Chinese students are living through there. FIDESZ, itself, has always thought, constantly, for a year, that we should forget the false internationalism in which this generation was raised.

[(Koncz)] How long will you sit here?

[Second demonstrator] For 1-2 hours at the maximum. It is planned to hand over a petition. [end recording]

Szuros Urges Agreement on Electoral Law

LD2505125189 Budapest MTI in English 0830 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—Since the composition of the National Assembly no longer complies with the current structure of interests and organizations, it would be expedient to extend parliament with representatives of these parties and organizations. It would be possible for new MPs to be elected for the vacant places, including two ones on the national list. Of course, the election would take place under the electoral law in force. The representatives of these parties and organizations, however, are unwilling to accept the mandates. They are unsatisfied with it, they aspire for more. This is a matter of political rivalry, Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, said in Thursday's "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

I think the parliamentary elections should be held this year when the president of the republic could also be elected by a referendum. The local council elections would take place next spring. The constitution would be enacted by the new parliament and perhaps reconfirmed by another referendum.

Advanced elections would make it possible to survey power relations in Hungary, the mass influence of the various parties and the possible ways of transition to representative democracy. I must add here with no delay: It lies in the interest of the country that the various parties and organizations reach an agreement on the main theses of the electoral law, the party law, the date of elections, the process of constitutionalization and even the technical matters of elections, Mr Szuros said.

Addressing the issue of show trials, Mr Szuros said:

Parliament should pass a law declaring that justice be done to all victims of the show trials and that all their rights be restored. I feel it would be expedient for the government, and perhaps for the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], to issue a statement before the funeral on June 16. It would be an appropriate time to admit we are reburying the victims of show trials.

'It would be wrong if a retrial were staged and a lengthy procedure begun: The general consent would be that the statements and relevant parliamentary law I have mentioned would be an adequate conclusion to the past events'.

Opposition Accepts Szuros Offer To Set Talks

LD2305191189 Budapest MTI in English 1507 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 23 (MTI)—The Opposition Roundtable (OR) still wishes to sit down at the conference table with the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), Peter Tolgyessy, member of the OR's negotiating group, said to MTI's correspondent.

He added they accepted the offer of Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, to take part in organizing the talks. Mr Tolgyessy said the talks would receive further impetus if the government and parliament were also represented under a Central Committee decision and not on individual initiative.

Mr Tolgyessy pointed out that as the HSWP Central Committee is in a position of power, it would not be sensible to conclude agreements without its participation. Even if the Central Committee decides that it is the government that should talk with the opposition, the

HSWP ought to be represented in the delegation of power so that any agreement be binding for them as well. Mr Tolgyessy said that the Opposition Roundtable would welcome Imre Pozsgay as a negotiating partner in his dual capacity of political committee member and minister of state.

HSWP expert Andras Toth stressed that they continued to regard the Central Committee's proposal of May 8 as a starting point, but they would also welcome any sensible proposal which serves to break the deadlock of talks. Mr Szuros' offer would probably come up for discussion during the next session of the Political Committee and the Central Committee.

Opposition Statement Protests MSZMP Actions

LD2605092389 Budapest MTI in English 2026 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 25 (MTI)—In its Thursday statement, the Opposition Roundtable (OR), which rallies 8 independent organizations, says that they are still prepared to confer with representatives of genuine power in the interest of a democatic transformation, and accept influential members of the government and parliament as negotiating partners acting on the commission of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP].

The statement points out that, contrary to the allegation of certain HSWP officials, the talks are suspended not because the HSWP is waiting for the answer of the Opposition Roundtable to the Central Committee's negotiation proposals. Since May 12, when the reply or OR's member organizations was made public, the HSWP has made no official step in the direction of negotiations.

At the same time, the governing party proposes the unilateral drafting of the transformation law, the party law and the law on the constitutional court. Furthermore, it also recommends that the institution of the president of the Republic be introduced through amendment of the constitution. According to the Opposition Roundtable, the formation of parties should be regulated by the law on association and, therefore, the registration of parties should fall within the competence of ordinary courts and not the constiutional court. The party manifestos should be evaluated by the constituents and not constitutional judges.

The Opposition Roundtable finds it alarming that, parallel with the postponement of talks, the HSWP and its government are producing major bills at an unjustifiable speed, and presenting them to parliament, thus providing accomplished facts for the period following the free elections, runs the statement.

Bank Loan Agreement With Japan Signed 26 May

AU2605081889 Budapest MTI in English 0645 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 26/05/1989—The Japanese Eximbank and six large private banks have granted Hungary a loan of 8,000 million yens (USD 60 million) for the restructuring of industry.

The agreement was signed on Friday in Tokyo by Tanaka Takasi, president of Eximbank, and Imre Tarafas, deputy president of the National Bank of Hungary.

This is the first case in which a Japanese state financial institute is granting a loan to a socialist country which is not linked to the purchase of Japanese products.

The loan has a maturity of 14 years, with 5 years' grace period, and interest rates that Japanese banks usually grant to good debtors, that is, 0.1 per cent lower than the current rates of medium- and long-term credits.

The new loan comes in a co-financing scheme with a $200 million World Bank loan which Hungary began to draw last year.

KYODO Report on Loan

OW2605095489 Tokyo KYODO in English 0904 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Tokyo, May 26 KYODO—The Export-Import Bank of Japan will extend a loan of up to 8 billion yen to Hungary to help strengthen its industries and boost exports, bank officials said Friday.

A contract was signed between the bank and the National Bank of Hungary on the same day.

The loan will be made in cooperation with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which will provide 200 million dollars, the officials said.

The fund will be used for plant equipment investment to make Hungarian products more competitive and increase exports, according to the officials.

National Bank Chairman Assesses Budget Problem

LD2205232889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 May 89

[Excerpts] For the first time Hungary is not allowed to use the sum scheduled for the next quarter from the annual $280 million credit extended to Hungary under strict conditions from the IMF. This is the position despite the fact that without the money it is difficult to conceive of the daily functioning of the Hungarian

economy; furthermore the potential shaking of confidence may worsen our long-term ability to obtain credits. Anna Berecz spoke to Hungarian National Bank Chairman Ferenc Bartha about this.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted]

[Berecz] What is taking place?

[Bartha] It is well-known that the projected position of the state budget by year-end is worse by some 30-35 billion forints—a 25-26 billion forints difference from plan exists in the firt quarter; the budget deficit should be 20 billion for the entire year. [passage omitted] The measures taken to correct this situation do not affect the population and do not contain practically any siphoning off from firms. The measures will affect the army, apparat members, administration, and banks. The essence is that the measure want to balance the budget by reducing expenditures.

We have now extended the IMF agreement which was to expire to the end of June. It is this period which is available to us. If the package of measures submitted by the government is appropriate and is adopted by the legislature then we are more able to extend this agreement to the end of the year by simple correction. If this package is not appropriate and we maintain the existing program, then we shall have the means to negotiate a new agreement. However, the problem will be then that this will spread among our creditors, in the credit market.

[Berecz] Do you think that we can pull ourselves together by 30 June and match every term?

[Bartha] I think that if the government receives authorization and carries it out we shall be able to come to an agreement with the IMF. [end recording]

Economic Chamber Chairman Interviewed on Reforms
AU2205105189 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 22 May 89 p 11

[Interview with Andras Gabor, chairman of the Economic Chamber, by Peter Martos; date, place not given: "Distribution Socialism Is a Utopia"]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: Mr Gabor, you are not only the chairman of the Hungarian Economic Chamber but also the head of the Tungsram electrical appliances company, which has caused some excitement because it is the first company that has partly been sold to foreign investors. How do you, with your dual function, see business with a group of banks headed by the Austrian Girozentrale Bank?

Andras Gabor: We need capital that works. If it only fills the gaps in the state budget it is not very useful. Actually, for Tungsram the financial influx has only caused a change in taxation. However, this makes it possible to start the program that was formulated 2 years ago so that the conditions can be improved. Many Hungarian companies do not think that it is not the change in the structure of ownership that is decisive [double negative as published].

[Martos] At the end of May parliament discussed the "transformation law." But for state companies changes in ownership are only the basis....

[Gabor] Exactly. Of course, it is good that there is an owner and not only the state. The owner has certain claims, he wants to have dividends from his capital. The Hungarian banks, which had been owners of Tungsram since the end of last year, did not ask for the annual plan in the way the state did but as a "business plan."

In this respect, the development at Tungsram can be used as a model. As chairman of the Economic Chamber I have to try, above all, to inspire trust in the companies so that they follow this or a similar path.

[Martos] If the Hungarian banks are acting in such a "capitalist" way, why was this change in ownership necessary?

[Gabor] What is the advantage for the Hungarian banks? They receive their own capital share for free—the Hungarian Credit Bank, for instance, receives about 3 billion forints. This sum can be distributed in the form of loans, which result in interest revenues. Furthermore, the Tungsram program also raises the value of the shares.

Tungsram, on the other hand, benefits from the fact that joint ventures are favored both as far as profit tax and payroll tax are concerned. Certain taxes do not apply at all, and the same goes for import restrictions.

[Martos] Various Communist Party economists warn that too much foreign capital might lead to new characteristics and turn Hungary into a capitalist country.

[Gabor] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party says that it wants to establish "democratic socialism" with a multiparty system and a market. Democratization can be politically realized. However, in order to have socialism one needs a producing economy. It is being discussed how the "capitalization" is to take place. If we accept the thesis that capitalist production is necessary for social policy, it must be achieved. In the long run, this may lead back to capitalism but this would certainly be a totally different capitalism from the one in the past.

[Martos] In this development, Hungary will reach a point at some time when the differences to the "socialist market economy" start blurring. Is this not a practical convergence, so to speak?

[Gabor] Yes, the development has to lead exactly to this. The model of socialism developed by the Russian Bolshevik Party at the beginning of the century is unable to gain ground—this has been clearly proved by Hungary through its development. The intention to implement distribution socialism without an incentive for achievement is a utopia.

[Martos] Then, what does it matter whether one speaks of "democratic socialism," of "capitalized socialism," or of "social capitalism"?

[Gabor] In the end, it does not matter—but it does matter a bit: form and relations are a decisive issue. We should not forget that Austria, for instance, underwent a totally different development than Hungary after World War II. For 40 years Hungary has developed an economy of a fundamentally different type—now convergence may be correct as a transition.

However, I think that the system cannot develop to become the same system as in Austria. Since the roots are different, the development is different, too. Of course, the existing similarities will even increase in the future, but there are variations of the "social market economy."

[Martos] Concerning the priority of goals?

[Gabor] Yes. In Austria an entrepreneur works to make profit, to ensure better supplies to the market, and also to have money for social tasks. In the system that is unfortunately called the "socialist market economy" social distribution would have a certain priority.

However, there is something negative: The past 40 years have very much blurred the differences between people and principles. No strata have developed like in a Western market economy. This results in the fact that in Hungary there is no educated elite who would be able to accept the role of managers—we also feel this in the companies. Therefore, it is not enough to bring in capital.

[Martos] The partial sale of Tungsram also has consequences concerning the staff....

[Gabor] The 11-member board of directors includes 5 Austrians, and therefore there is an organizational base. For me as the head of the company it would be really good if I could integrate financial experts from the West, because here we have none as a result of the decade-long monopoly of the National Bank.

In addition, quality demands such as reliability are considerably higher in the West. This is a great problem for Tungsram: The quality is good, but the company is held in low esteem as an "Eastern producer." Therefore it would be good to have an engineer as director who precisely knows the system in order to ensure quality. This would both raise the requirements and offer the advantage that the person in question is not linked with the structures existing in Hungary. He could act much more energetically. We are now waiting for a response from the partners.

[Martos] Let us go back to the Economic Chamber: It is criticized by various sides, for instance by the National Union of (Small) Enterprises, for being too soft toward the government....

[Gabor] I do not reject this criticism, but I want to explain it a bit: In Hungary economic management is at a low level. Political life is far more vivid and colorful. Recently I again formulated the dissatisfaction of the enterprises at the Central Committee. But it is much easier for the daily newspapers to report on a 30-member reform circle than on economic events.

It is completely clear in any system that it is nonsense to compare small and large-scale entrepreneurs. How does the small entrepreneur make his living in Austria? He forms the background industry for large companies. If a person and the people are well off, the other one is well off, too. In Hungary no one is well off at present. Therefore there is no initiative because there is no demand by people who can pay for it.

[Martos] The small enterprises probably meant that the Economic Chamber should have demanded lower taxes more persistently, for instance.

[Gabor] The Chamber did do this and achieved 50 percent instead of the planned 60 percent—however, it could not be prevented, that after the parliamentary decision the government enforced an additional special 4-percent tax and a 2-percent education tax [Bildungssteuer]. In addition there is a "socialist production tax" between 18 and 24 percent on gross revenues. All this costs up to 64 percent of the profits. We are bombarding the government with reproaches in every body.

Mihaly Jasso Assesses Value of Reform Circle

LD2205220289 Budapest MTI in English 1746 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—The reform circles of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] can provide an intellectual impetus which promotes the creation of party unity, and for the HSWP to become a mobile party that accords to the contemporary requirements, said Mihaly Jasso, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee. Mr Jasso was asked by MTI's staff-members on Monday [22 May], when he visited the Budapest international fair.

"I was not present at the reform conference in Szeged over the week-end, as the Political Committee decided who should represent the body," Mr Jasso said. "The Budapest reform circle is an intellectual current within the party which can be extremely useful in the creation of

a new-type party. I requested them to continue their debates not only between themselves, but to go the local party organizations, and to try and compare their thoughts with those of other party members. Our views in the Budapest Party Committee are the same as of the reform circles in the majority of the issues, and several of the party committee members represent an even more radical position than they do."

Mr Jasso said: "I would have preferred for the legal settlement to be carried out first in the affair of Imre Nagy and only then the political, even if it is obvious that it was a show trial.

"I hope that sooner or later new talks will open between the HSWP and the opposition, as those who feel responsibility for the fate of the country will hold talks", Mr Jasso said.

Social Democratic Party To Hold Congress

AU2305102389 Budapest MTI in English 1901 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 20/05/1989—The Social Democratic Party of Hungary (MSZDP) wishes to hold a congress late this year, Tibor E. Baranyai, member of the Provisional Board of the party, said at a press briefing held after the session of the HSWP county leaders in Budapest on Saturday.

Mr Baranyai estimates the party has a membership of about 25-30,000 at the moment. Social democratic organizations of over 19 counties sent their representatives to the meeting of county leaders. He said the MSZDP would be taking part in the Stockholm congress of the Socialist International in June, and be requesting affiliation to the organization. He also announced that the party would launch a petition for the return of the ashes of Anna Kethly, former social democratic leader.

He said the members of the present Provisional Board wish to retain their posts until the congress. Although Party President Andras Revesz is ill, he will not be resigning his post at the leadership's request.

Mr Baranyi feels optimistic about the chances of the social democrats in the coming elections. He says the party can rely on the support of the rural districts. He says it is not the MSZDP's goal to become the governing party. What they wish to achieve is that no government could act against or without them.

There were a lot of questions directed at the internal strife in the party. Mr Baranyai says every party under organization faces a similar problem anywhere in the world.

Ferenc-Muennich Society Head on Party Work

AU2005205789 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 20 May 89 p 3

[Gregor Mayer dispatch from Budapest: "Party Has Long Neglected Ideological Work"]

[Text] Many observers of the developments in Hungary are constantly astonished: reprivatization, market economy, admission of parties that are no longer based on socialism, an almost penetrating assertion of belonging to "Europe," which means bourgeois, capitalist Western Europe. What is going on in terms of ideology? Where are—above all, within the party—the leftist forces, which are able to distinguish between efforts for restoration that are disguised as reforms and real socialist renewal?

Ferenc Berenyi, managing secretary of the Ferenc-Muennich Society, receives me between two conferences in the House of the Popular Front of Budapest's third district. The 69-year-old man, who was an active resistance fighter and participated as a Hungarian partisan in the national Slovak uprising, argues cautiously and avoids phrase-like simplifications, because since its establishment last November the Ferenc-Muennich Society has been treated ironically and sometimes hostilely by the Hungarian press—contrary to various opposition groups, which often receive publicity that goes beyond their real importance, the Ferenc-Muennich Society is undisputably founded on a Marxist basis.

This is already shown by the support expressed for the man after whom the society is named: In those days of November 1956 when the uprising had led to an open counterrevolution, Ferenc Muennich, together with Janos Kadar, founded the revolutionary worker-peasant government, which, with Soviet help, anticipated an unpredictable escalation of the civil war. In today's Hungary, however, this seems to be everything else but a good reference.

"Actually, we founded the society," Ferenc Berenyi explains, "to support the party and the government. At the same time it is a fact that over the past years many party members, but also non-party people, who are convinced of socialism, have removed themselves from the party and have turned away from it. We would like to win them back, not necessarily as party members but also as non-party followers of socialism." The society wants to closely cooperate with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP), but as a critical alliance partner, not as someone who receives orders. Berenyi cites one elemental point of criticism: For a long time the MSZMP has not done real ideological work, in particular not among the masses. Therefore the broad strata of the population are left to themselves and do not know how to behave in view of the changes in the world and the

changes in the Soviet Union. Because of the long used system of orders from above, the masses have been weaned from ideological discussions and active political involvement.

"In view of the situation as it is changes, a change in the economic policy, are unavoidable," Berenyi says. "But the question is what these changes will be like. In my view the question of whether there will be a one-party or multiparty system is not the decisive one. The decisive issue is the direction: Are we going toward socialism or toward capitalism? The multisector economy is certainly acceptable to us; where it helps the socialist sector there may well be private economy. However, common, social property must have priority." The draft of the new Constitution, however, is geared toward a different line: It speaks of "sector neutrality" and it does not envisage a priority of social property. The Muennich Society criticizes this. The Constitution must clearly set down a socialist orientation, and then Parliament or the people have to decide on this.

In conclusion, we discuss the prejudice that is subliminally spreading in the country, according to which the society with its about 12,000 members is a collecting basin for old Stalinists and members of the secret service from the time of Rakosi. Berenyi admits that among the founding members there were a great number of officers, mostly retired, and people who stood at the side of the socialists with the weapon in hand in 1956, but not as members of the armed formations but on their work place. He himself, who became an officer in the new People's Army after his work as a partisan, was fired by the army in 1953 in the wake of "Stalinization" and continued his military career only after 1956. However, the Muennich Society first and foremost wants to address the workers, who are rather neglected by the other movements, and whose proportion in his organization Berenyi calls "high, but still not high enough."

Paper Reports New Joint Journal With Netherlands

AU2305093689

[Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian on 13 May on page 9 carries a 400-word "t.l." report headlined: "Dutch-Hungarian Joint Journal" on the upcoming publication of the first issue of a new joint Hungarian-Dutch journal.

The new bilingual Dutch-Hungarian journal called "ERASMUS" will appear four times a year and its first issue will be published in the spring of 1989. According to the report, the first issue will carry a preface signed by Imre Pozsgay and will contain various articles on the Transylvanian issue and Hungarian-Dutch educational relations in the distant past and present. The journal will be edited by Istvan Barczy in Hungary and by Jan Cremer in the Netherlands, and will be published by the Foreign Language Publishing House in Hungary.

Editor Interviewed on New Social Policy Journal

AU2305102989

[Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian on 13 May on page 8 carries a 400-word interview with Katalin Levai, chief editor of a new social policy journal called "CHANCES," which is to start publication in September, by "Vandor" under the headline: "Chance."

Answering a question about the chances of social policy in Hungary, Katalin Levai is quoted as saying that the new journal "wants to become primarily a professional-theoretical workshop for sociologists, psychologists, and social workers," a forum for their social policy ideas. According to Levai, more funds is not the answer, but the problem is that "we have become used to having someone care for us, and we do not see that it is high time to take the issues into our own hands" and the journal will "try to discover concrete social welfare cases and publish them, so that solutions could be found." The new journal will be published by the Reszso Hirschler Social Policy Society.

Students Continue Strike Over NZS Registration

LD2505163489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] The strike at Warsaw higher educational establishments is continuing. About 180 people are sitting-in at the university buildings, 150 at the Polytechnic, about 40 at the Main School of Agriculture, and 10 at the Academy of Fine Arts. Strikes are also continuing at other higher schools in the country, particularly at the Lodz, Wroclaw, and Gdansk universities. The striking students are demanding the registration of the Independent Students' Union [NZS], which has again been refused by the Warsaw Voivodship Court.

Commission Team Divided

LD2505180389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] A meeting of the Coordination Commission intervention team took place in Warsaw today, chaired by Andrzej Gdula and Jacek Kuron. Matters that are disputed and demand clarification as well as those that interest the sides in the dialogue were discussed. The Solidarity-opposition side made a sharp protest on the refusal to register the Independent Students' Union [NZS], stressing that the provisions of the NZS Statute are within the boundaries of the law. The coalition-government side stressed that the decision of the Voivodship Court is in accordance with the provisions of the law on associations, agreed during the roundtable deliberations, which does not envisage the right to strike.

The intervention team decisively expressed itself in favor of continuing the election campaign in accordance with the spirit of the roundtable, without confrontational activities, disinformation, the exploitation of anonymous publications, and other actions contrary to political culture. The cases of infringement of the law should be clarified. The Solidarity-opposition side drew attention to the improprieties in the staffing of ward electoral commissions. The question of the creation of new associations was discussed, including the Association of Polish Writers [SPP]. The problem of workers' conflicts manifesting in certain parts of the country was discussed, and also matters regarding rural milieux.

University Statement on Krakow Demonstrations

LD2305063689 Warsaw PAP in English 2128 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Krakow, May 22—The Senate of the Jagiellonian University at its special session here today assessed the situation that arose in the city over the last few days. The Senate adopted a statement that reads in part:

"The Senate of the Jagiellonian University feels obliged to present to the academic community and public opinion its stand on the scandalous, contrary to the political culture events that took place in Krakow in the past few days.

"We consider it most outrageous to profane the state's emblem by a youth group, including students, and to insult the consular officials of the Soviet Union. The repercussions of the incident (...) acquired an all-Poland or even international character. Such events, regardless of their inspirers and organizers, are also harmful to the idea of national reconciliation and constitute a threat to the process of the undertaken reforms.

"The university cannot take responsibility for what is happening beyond its premises. But those students who took part in the events and may be found guilty must take into account the consequences resulting from the violation of the university's statutes."

Likhachev on Problems Linking Poles, Russians

LD2505222489 Warsaw PAP in English 1953 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 25—Poland and Russia have always had common problems, not only clashes but literally common problems, head of the Soviet culture fund, Professor Dmitriy Likhachev told Polish TV reporter during a break in the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies in the Kremlin today.

Among matters that linked us was first our joint struggle against the tsarist regime, then our joint struggle against Stalinsim. All the nations of the USSR suffered from Stalinism. Therefore, the tragedy in the forest of Kaytn by no means can be considered as a sign of hostility of the Russians to the Poles, Likhachev said.

Olechowski on Sea Border Agreement With GDR

LD2205224789 Warsaw PAP in English 2227 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 22—Speaking on the Polish Television today on the agreement on delimitation of the territorial waters between the GDR and Poland, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski stated that the optimum solution for the interests of both sides had been worked out.

Poland acquired a sovereign, unrestricted approach to the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie, the sea border between Poland and the GDR was delimited, and the waters of the continental shelf and fishing zones were clearly demarcated.

It is the success of both our countries, Tadeusz Olechowski said, and an example for a compromising, good-neighbourly way of settling disputes between two adjacent states. The document regulates the problem in the most favourable way once and for all, the minister stated.

FRG's Scheel Visits, Holds Talks With Leaders

Received by Rakowski

LD2305051589 Warsaw PAP in English
1945 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 22—Poland's Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received here today the well-known West German politician and former president of the FRG as well as the honorary chairman of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) Walter Scheel.

The talk devoted to the evaluation of the international situation and the state of Polish-West German relations was attended by FRG's Ambassador in Warsaw Franz Joachim Schoeller.

Received by Olechowski

LD2405223789 Warsaw PAP in English
1512 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski met here today with former FRG president, Honorary Chairman of the Free Democratic Party Walter Scheel.

The conversation focused on the question of normalization of Polish-FRG relations since the signing of the December 7, 1970 treaty. Both politicians came out for intensified cooperation in all fields and for a climate conducive to agreement between the two countries and nations.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD2405222489 Warsaw PAP in English
2005 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski met today with former federal president of the FRG, Honorary Chairman of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) Walter Scheel, on a visit here.

Jaruzelski and Scheel assessed the hitherto normalization of Polish-FRG relations based on the treaty of December 7, 1970 and discussed chances for development of further comprehensive and mutually beneficial cooperation.

PAP on Debate in FRG Over Kohl Visit to Poland

LD2305225989 Warsaw PAP in English
2103 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Bonn, May 23—A public debate in the FRG over the preparations for the Polish visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl is accompanied by growing signs of impatience and surprise with the repeatedly postponed dates of the chancellor's Polish trip and with the even more hazy date of the visit of FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, which was to follow the chancellor's visit. Signs of impatience also appear in speeches of politicians, chiefly those representing opposition parties, the SPD [Socialist Party of Germany] the Greens, and also in press comments.

Special plenipotentiary of the chancellor for talks with Poland more actively joined the debate for the first time, apparently to mitigate those voices. Horst Teltschik once again ensured that the relations with Poland are particularly significant for the FRG.

Trying to explain the lack of clarity in Bonn concerning the size and forms of economic and financial support for the process of reforms in Poland, Teltschik spoke not only about the differentiated readiness in political parties to give such a support but also released a suggestion about the colossal expectations of the Poles, which is completely misleading and disorientating to local public opinion. Such words are, objectively, welcomed by those anonymous forces here which, in the name of arranging an atmosphere unkind to Poland, spread the information about the purportedly fantastic expectations of the Poles which has nothing to do with truth whatsoever (they even quote the sum of 7 billion Deutsche Marks).

PZPR Politburo Discusses Elections, Economy

LD2405084689 Warsaw PAP in English
2038 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—The Political Bureau of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee assessed today the social, political and economic situation in Poland.

The participants discussed the hitherto course of the electoral campaign to the Sejm and Senate.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the course and results of Wojciech Jaruzelski's Berlin visit and of his talks with Erich Honecker. The outcome of visits paid to Poland by President of Italy Francesco Cossiga and Prime Minister of Hungary Miklos Nemeth was also discussed.

Sejm Committees Meet, Approve Draft Laws

LD2405085889 Warsaw PAP in English
2226 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—At a joint meeting here today the Sejm Committees for Administration, for Home Affairs and Jurisdiction and for Legislative Work approved a draft law on remittal and abolition of some crimes and offences. The draft is of an abolitional character and comprises only offences and financial crimes committed for political reasons or in connection with a strike, a protest action of militarization after August 31, 1980.

Deputies from the Committees for National Education and Youth, for Science and Technological Progress and for Legislative Work considered and approved a draft

law on amendment of the laws on higher education and physical culture and on scientific degrees and titles. It is planned, among other things, to give up assessing the civic attitude of academic teachers and candidates for the work, while the latter draft proposes to convey the hitherto powers to grant scientific degrees and titles from the Council of State to president. The Committee for Legislative Work discussed a draft law on conveying the competences of the Council of State to president and other state organs. Since this apparently formal question has essential practical consequences, the deputies stressed that many of the amendments proposed in 19 laws will be of temporary character until the constitution and some laws are amended in a comprehensive way. The deputies approved the draft.

Examines Financial Issues

LD2505020689 Warsaw PAP in English
2120 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 24—At its today's meeting the Sejm examined a government report on the implementation of the state budget last year, financial plans, and the execution of the national socio-economic plan in the years 1986-1988.

The deputies sized up the economic balance in the whole past year. However, as the cabinet changed during that year, the vote of approval for the government was formulated on the grounds of this cabinet's work and the measures undertaken during the recent months of the last year. After a discussion held by a dozen or so speakers, the Sejm accepted the reports and passed the vote of approval in this way supporting the reform-minded cabinet of Prime Minister Rakowski.

The deputies stressed that actions of the government need a creative backing from all the structures in our state and the entire population.

Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski opened the debate which was attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. Deputy Jan Kaczmarek spoke on behalf of the Committee for Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances.

The next item on the agenda concerned the bill proposed by the special commission for the control of economic reform implementation on rationalisation of spending energy and fuels in the national economy. Deputy Taeusz Bilinski was reporting.

Next to speak was chairman of the Supreme Board of Control Nik Tadeusz Hupalowski.

The general discussion on the above-mentioned reports brought voices referring not so much to the past year but rather filled with concern about the development of economic situation in the first months of this year. Deputy Ryszard Najsznerski quoted an opinion of a team of Sejm advisors to the effect that the development of situation in the first quarter of this year threatens with further quick depreciation of the Polish zloty and the centrum's potential losing control over economic processes with the use of the currency.

This shows the need to undertake more decisive measures to balance the economy. Grounds for such measures have been provided by the round table accords which proclaim the establishment of a new economic order. Deputy Jozef Szawiec spoke in a similar spirit. He pointed out that the Rakowski cabinet had begun bridging the gap between public expectations and lack of normalcy in life.

The sooner we manage to unite all reform-oriented forces, whatever their political colour and outlooks, the more successful will be economy reforming, he said.

Referring to the processes of economy reforming Deputy Cezary Wolf opined that the state sector of Polish economy had been subject to an experiment hardly imaginable under capitalist conditions. He meant the passage of production means into independent, self-governed, and self-financed management of the workers employed by their firms. Deputy Wolf thinks this solution does not as yet produce material effects bu the experiment will have to be evaluated overall from the angle of progressing depreciation of the economy.

The speech by Deputy Wolf triggered polemics with Vice-Premier Janusz Patorski who stressed that without changing the ownership relations it is impossible to radicalise the process of switching over to market rules and reach a situation where workers, motivated by their own benefits, would be interested in long-term profitability of their firms.

The experience of people involved in leasing state-owned enterprises do not confirm the fears of Deputy Wolf.

In a resolution passed with one more vote against and 24 abstentions the Sejm adopted the government reports describing the economic processes in 1988 and passed a vote of approval for the government in that year. The Sejm also accepted the report of the National Bank of Poland on its activities in 1988, after which it adopted a resolution with 1 vote against and 8 abstentions, on a rationalisation of energy and fuels spending by the national economy.

Next, the deputies acquainted themselves with the proceedings of the Socio-Economic Council at the 9th Sejm. Sejm Deputy-Speaker and Chairman of the Council Tadeusz Porebski said that the council was expanded by new members. During the entire term, the council issued over 60 opinions and one appeal to the nation.

The council, Porebski went on, did its tasks well, properly served the Sejm and the people.

Towards the end of debate, the Sejm heard replies of government members to interpellations and questions of deputies inquiring about the golden part of the Pre-War National Defence Fund which returned to Poland in 1947 and was deposited with the National Bank of Poland.

President of the bank Zdzislaw Pakula said that precious objects belonging to the golden fund were deposited with his bank by the Ministry of Treasury. The deposit was there from 1948 to 1956 all the time kept for the ministry which was subsequently renamed as Ministry of Finance. A commission acting on behalf of this ministry sorted out and utilized the valuables. The utilization was performed on the order of the Finance Ministry in 2 stages. First, the gold (coins, etc.) was melted into bars and then, in 1956, the remaining valuables (watches, jewelry, etc.) were evaluated and sold through jewelry and DESA [Government-run antique shop] shops. The income was paid to the Finance Ministry. 19 objects of historical value were given free of charge to the Central Board of Museums.

The deputies suggested to entrust further enquiry for the whereabouts of the golden part of the National Defence Fund to the Supreme Board of Control. Deputy-Speaker Ozdowski made such a motion to the Sejm Presidium.

Trade Union Minister on Re-Employment Law

LD2505093989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 24 May 89

[Interview with Jozef Oleksy, minister for trade union affairs, by correspondent Mariusz Dabrowski; in the Sejm lobby on 24 May—recorded]

[Text] [Dabrowski] I am talking to Minister Jozef Oleksy. The Sejm today passed a law on special rights for re-employment. What does this law involve?

[Oleksy] This is a very important law for two reasons. Firstly, because it creates a right for people who have lost their jobs as the result of trade union activity or trade union membership. They now have gained the possibility of returning to work in the same work places according to their qualifications. Of course, this does not mean a return to the same post. Thus, some kind of compensation is being made in relation to all these cases, of which there were very many in the past.

The second aspect of today's Sejm decision is that this law has been prepared very quickly. This subject was one of the important topics at the table for pluralism at the roundtable. Now, practically a month later, we have prepared a law, jointly, while maintaining working contacts with both the OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord] and Solidarity. We discussed it clause by clause. We presented it to the Council of Ministers, and the Council of Ministers accepted this draft. Today, the Sejm adopted the law. It is proof—I want to emphasize this—of Premier Rakowski's consistent and rapid actions in implemening what was agreed at the roundtable. What is urgent and possible has been done already.

Strike Committee Signs Gdansk Agreement

LD2305232489 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Gdansk, May 23—A strike committee, supported by the Federation of Trade Unions of ship-building industry employees, signed an agreement here today with town and provincial authorities thus putting an end to a protest action continuing since May 17 against the municipal decision to expel 8 firms from their lodgings in the "Budimor" building.

The decision was part of the efforts to find office floor for the national and regional Solidarity trade union authorities. The town gave up its decision and agreed to pay the "Budimor" all the costs involved.

UPP Presidium Holds Meeting, Outlines Tasks

LD2305231989 Warsaw PAP in English 2137 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—Presidium of the United Peasant Party [UPP] CC [Central Committee] held its meeting here today to review the social and economic situation in Poland, especially in agriculture and the food economy.

The Presidium also acquainted itself with the course of the election campaign to the Sejm and Senate and assessed UPP's participation in that campaign. The presidium spoke in favour of consistent observance during the campaigns of the "round table" agreements, including the carrying out of the electoral struggle in tune with the principles of social coexistence and political culture.

Members of he Presidium referred with disapproval to disturbing peace, anti-Soviet demonstrations, intolerence, doggedness, setting society at variance and confrontation.

The Presidium outlined the political, organizational and propaganda tasks for UPP links and for peasant's press during the election campaign.

General Interviewed on Military Contacts

AU2405141289 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 22 May 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with General of Brigade Bernard Wozniecki, chief of the Cabinet of the Ministry of National Defense, by Stanislaw Masztanowicz: "The Polish Army in the International Arena"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Masztanowicz] Our presence in the world is increasing. Poland's international contacts are expanding. To what extent is the Polish Army participating in this?

[Wozniecki] It is generally known that almost the entire period since the end of the war has been a period of confrontation, growing mutual mistrust and hostility, militarization of relations, and build-up of armaments, and all this to achieve equal security. And yet, exactly the opposite has been achieved; a level of threat never before encountered in history. After 4 decades of this state of affairs, it is time to start a new era and find ways of understanding and cooperating with each other on the principles of partnership and mutual respect. The level of military confrontation must be reduced gradually, and mutual security increased. Completely different principles must be followed than those that led to the creation of, first, NATO, and then the Warsaw Pact.

Everyone must take part in solving these complex and difficult problems—politicians, economists, scientists, people of culture, and of course military personnel—if we want to achieve the desired results.

International military contacts are of great importance. They are an important way of establishing relations with other countries, including countries with different political and social systems. They encourage mutual trust, create a climate conducive to broad cooperation, and symbolize an improvement in the international climate.

The Polish Army has been very active in this sphere for years. Its steadily expanding contacts with the armed forces of other countries are assuming various forms. I have in mind exchange visits by representatives of military commands, regular discussions on military doctrines, and mutual inspections of military exercises by military observers in accordance with the provisions adopted in Stockholm. All these are major factors in consolidating detente.

[Masztanowicz] However, one gets the impression that the Polish Army's international contacts are biased in favor of the Warsaw Pact and other socialist countries.

[Wozniecki] Such a view is justified, but it is not true. It is justified because Poland belongs to the Warsaw Pact and maintains close ties with the fraternal allied forces, involving practically every sphere of the armed forces, from operational matters to culture. It is not true because we also attach great importance to exchanges of views and experiences with the armed forces of other countries, especially neutral and nonaligned countries.

[Masztanowicz] These are countries far from Poland. What about contacts with countries closer to us, belonging to NATO?

[Wozniecki] I do not want to go too far back in time, but let us take a look at the last decade. At the beginning of the 1980's, military contacts with Western countries were indeed "inert." However, the situation began to improve in 1985. I need not explain that this was because of the normalization of our domestic situation and because of progressing international detente.

[Masztanowicz] May I have a few examples, General?

[Wozniecki] By all means. General Florian Siwicki, then chief of the Polish Army General Staff, visited the Netherlands and Finland in 1985 and 1986 respectively, at the invitation of the military authorities of these countries. In 1988, the Austrian defense minister and commander in chief of the Finnish Armed Forces visited Poland at the invitation of the Polish military authorities. This year, our minister of national defense will visit Austria, and we will host the Italian defense minister. Diplomatic custom forbids me to reveal further plans, which are not definite in any case.

[Masztanowicz] You were the military attache in the United States several years ago. What chances do you see of "breaking the ice" at military level between this key NATO country and Poland?

[Wozniecki] Poland has maintained diplomatic relations with the United States since 1919, and the history of these relations is exceptionally rich. However, they assumed a special character after World War II, when they were influenced by ideological, political, and international factors, coupled with old traditions and ethnic ties. Because of this, relations between the two countries have always been somewhat different to those between the two blocs.

From 1982 to 1987 there were sharp sanctions and restrictions against Poland, imposed by the U.S. President, as a result of which our economy suffered huge losses. But already in 1987, Polish-American relations began to improve slowly but surely. High-level political and economic contacts were resumed.

In 1988 Poland was visited by several senators—members of the U.S. Armed Forces Committee, one of the President's special advisers, and secretaries of state for arms control—plus a group of students from the U.S. National Defense University.

This year, the United States has suggested close military contacts in the form of visits by military delegations, including at top level. We have accepted these suggestions and, following consultations, it is probable that the first visit by a high-level Polish military delegation to the United States will take place toward the end of the year, in the fall. This should be the start of broader, mutual contacts between the armed forces of both countries.

So the "ice" has already begun to be "broken." It is commendable that the Polish military attache in the United States and U.S. military attache in Poland have already held several lectures in military academies in the countries to which they are accredited.

[Masztanowicz] What about the FRG?

[Woznicki] There are still no military contacts with the FRG, but I think the favorable development of the international situation and of Polish-FRG cooperation will also lead to the establishment of military contacts with this country. First of all, it will be necessary to appoint military attaches in both countries.

[Masztanowicz] Finally, it is worth mentioning the Polish soldier's role in peace missions.

[Woznicki] Indeed. This is no trifle. Since 1953, 20,000 Polish Army soldiers have taken part in peace missions in 11 countries. Today they are serving in Afghanistan, Iraq, Namibia, Pakistan, Syria, and—still—Korea.

By means of their service, they are building Poland's prestige in the world and taking part in building real, strong foundations.

PZPR Workers Commission's Role Discussed

PM2605085489 Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 28 Apr-1 May 89 p 5

[Interview with Zbigniew Sobotka, candidate member of Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Politburo, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Scholl] The Central Committee Workers Commission was created by the decision of the 10th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum. You are its chairman. Is it not strange that it should be necessary to set up a separate specific forum devoted to workers?

[Sobotka] It is not at all strange. Such is simply the requirement of the times in which we live. It would be a poor state of affairs if the party leadership failed to realize this.

According to popular feeling among work forces, the economic reform has created a situation in which the only things that matter are money, financial results, clear profit, and so on. On the other hand, all kinds of difficult problems experienced by the working people are overlooked and ignored both within enterprises and outside them, as if they did not exist. In addition, new types of ownership relations have appeared and the economy is in the process of becoming market-centered, which in turn gives employees of state-owned firms a sense of being "less well loved," as it were. They are afraid—sometimes with good reason—that the principles of social justice will fade away or undergo profound changes. Will the changes be for the better or for the worse? The times we live in mark a turning point in our history and...

[Scholl] ...this is why we must keep up with them?

[Sobotka] Just so, precisely. We were under considerable pressure from the direction of the party infrastructure to create a specific workers group capable of sending early warnings to the party leadership—in particular, warnings about danger areas concerning workers' living standards and material conditions. All workers—whether party members or not—would like an assurance that the full range of their problems will be considered and presented from their own viewpoint, and also from the perspective of the principles of social justice to which they themselves subscribe. And that they will be presented and considered with due regard for these principles.

[Scholl] Its name, Workers Commission, suggests that it will be composed exclusively of workers, does it not?

[Sobotka] Predominantly of Central Committee members hailing from work enterprises. Of people who are employed directly as workers, and also secretaries of party organizations. But the commission's ranks will also include scientists—not necessarily Central Committee members—whom we consider trustworthy and who are familiar with problems of the industrial environment. In addition, to gain a fuller view and form a more comprehensive assessment of these problems, we will also invite to our meetings workers-nonparty members and representatives of trade unions, workers' councils, and youth organizations. We will also ask government members to attend our meetings with a view to creating yet another opportunity for direct exchange of information and comparison of our views and arguments.

[Scholl] Do you expect the Workers Commission to have sufficient clout?

[Sobotka] In line with the decisions of the 10th and 11th Plenums, the authority of all Central Committee commissions is continuously growing. All documents such as program declarations, reports, and position papers will be submitted for assessment to the Commission. They will serve as material for creative thought and provide ancillary monitoring and opinionmaking instruments. Thanks to this system the broad ranks of Central Committee worker members, activists, and experts will be able to influence party policy. At the same time the position of the party apparatus will change: It will assume a serving role in its relation to party authorities.

In this new situation, where party leadership work—or, even more broadly, collective party thinking—is beginning to reflect ideas stemming from the ranks of society, our Workers Commission gains an opportunity to undertake innovatory actions and propose innovatory solutions.

[Scholl] Will no one try to "prompt" you to take up specific issues? Or dissuade you from concerning yourself with awkward, potentially embarrassing subjects?

[Sobotka] For my part, I am notorious for my obstinacy and independent views. Moreover, I think that the only voices that other commission members will listen to and take into consideration will be those of their workmates. We decide on our subjects ourselves: They "arrive," as it were, directly with our commission members, from all over Poland. Or sometimes—as was the case with our first meeting, which was devoted to assessing a draft amendment to the bill on enterprise social welfare and housing funds—they will also arise in the course of work on amending legislation. If this concerns areas important to workers, we want to be involved there too.

[Scholl] What subjects will you deal with in the first place?

[Sobotka] We do not set out any annual programs. These will be determined by life itself, by the present dynamic beat of its pulse. And we will have to react quickly to the problems it brings with it, tackling them as we go. Everyday contact with work forces will ensure that we tackle the most important ones first.

[Scholl] What are these likely to be for today and tomorrow?

[Sobotka] We will need to take a closer look at the systems and principles of establishing wages and formulate our position in this matter. Pay relations between individual sectors of industry, between town and country, and between material production sectors and budget-funded sectors are often incorrect. They need to be constantly monitored and amended.

In their efforts to earn more money, people work overtime at the expense of their health, leisure, and close daily contacts with their families. We must aim for a situation in which they could earn the same money without overtime, thanks to better work organization. At present unfortunately the rate of pay is measured by the number of hours they spend in the factory.

There has been talk about making all sectors equal. But what sort of equality is it if a private employer can outbid a state employer with double or threefold pay rates? Because tax liabilities are by no means equal in both cases.

Consequently, we will study this important area of pay rates and wages with particular care and attention. Then we will draw our conclusions and formulate our recommendations, which will have to be consistent with the ideals of social justice and equality of criteria.

The same sense of social justice suggests to us that it is necessary to make such fundamental material assets as housing more easily available to workers' families, and also to give them wider access to social welfare services, culture, education, and high quality recreational facilities. Surveys have shown that the housing conditions that are the lot of workers' families are significantly worse than those available to other social classes.

[Scholl] Housing problems were often found in the past on the agenda of other Central Committee commissions.

[Sobotka] But as a rule the approach is to study the possibility of expanding the housing construction sector. We, on the other hand, are more concerned with finding ways of better allocating and utilizing the housing that will actually be constructed. Today we often hear the slogan that we are all equal and that this rule should also apply to housing allocation waiting lists. But somehow what actually happens is that a worker with his modest zlotys has to cede priority to, say, a lady of easy virtue because she can pay in dollars...

I believe that we will be able to galvanize the situation in the company housing sector, and also to help improve living conditions in workers' hostels.

Our commission will hold most of its sessions on location, during its visits to enterprises, in order to be able to make better assessments based on opinions voiced by workers from these milieus. [passage omitted]

350 Bodies Buried in 1944-47 Unearthed at Otwock
LD2405084789 Warsaw PAP in English
2140 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—Chief of the commission examining the graves discovered in a forest near a cemetery in Otwock, Stanislaw Sobczyk, told PAP today that they had so far unearthed the remains of some 350 persons buried in the years 1944-1947.

The naked bodies were thrown into the grave in 3-5 layers at the depth of 1.5-3 metres. About 50 per cent of them show signs of post mortem dissections. Golden teeth are still in some of the jaws, with no mechanical or bullet wounds traceable.

The ashes of Otwock will be re-buried in a grave at the local cemetery.

Mozambican President Arrives on Official Visit

Chissano Arrives 22 May

AU2205154689 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, arrived in our country this afternoon for an official friendly visit.

The arrival ceremony took place at Otopeni Airport which was festively adorned. The state flags of Romania and Mozambique were flanking the portraits of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and of Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano. Words of welcome addressed to the distinguished guest as well as warm words for the friendship and cooperation between our countries and people were inscribed on big banners. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu greeted Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano with much cordiality upon his arrival. The two party and state leaders warmly shook hands and embraced each other. A military guard lined up at the airport presented arms. The state anthems of the People's Republic of Mozambique and of the Socialist Republic of Romania were played. In greeting the guest, a 21-gun salute was fired. The two party and state leaders reviewed the guard of honor. Young pioneers gave flowers to President Nicolae Ceausescu and to President Joaquim Alberto Chissano.

The current Romanian-Mozambican summit is meant to contribute to the development of relations of friendship, militant solidarity, and cooperation between our peoples, parties, and countries, in the mutual interest of the cause of peace, progress, and security in the world.

Delegation Members Listed

AU2205184489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 22 May 89

[Excerpts] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/05/1989—Upon the invitation of the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu, the president of the Frelimo Party [Mozambique Liberation Front], president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Joaquim Albeto Chissano, arrived in Bucharest in the afternoon of 22 May. [passage omitted]

Mozambique's president is accompanied on his visit to Romania by Julio Zamith Carrilho, secretary of the Central Committee [CC] of the Frelimo Party, Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, secretary of the CC of the Frelimo Party, minister of foreign affairs, by other officials. [passage omitted]

The president of the People's Republic of Mozambique was welcomed by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the State Council and the government, generals, by other officials.

Present were Romania's ambassador in Mozambique and Mozambique's ambassador in Romania.

The official arrival ceremony concluded with the parade of the guard of honour.

At the guests' residence, President Nicolae Ceausescu talked with President Joaquim Alberto Chissano in a cordial atmosphere.

Ceausescu, Chissano Meet

AU2205192389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1837 GMT 22 May 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Meets With President Joaquim Alberto Chissano"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/05/1989—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, met with the President of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, at the State Council Palace on Monday, May 22.

President Nicolae Ceausescu warmly greeted the official friendly visit President Joaquim Alberto Chissano is paying to Romania, expression of the good Romanian-Mozambican ties of friendship and collaboration, of the mutual wish to even more powerfully develop the cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples, in the mutual interest, in the interest of the cause of peace and international cooperation.

President Joaquim Alberto Chissano thanked for the invitation to visit Romania, expressing his satisfaction at meeting with President Nicolae Ceausescu and at examining together new ways and means for expanding the bilateral collaboration.

During the interview, held in a cordial, friendly atmosphere, the two heads of party and state expressed their belief that the understandings to be covenanted on the talks will contribute to the intensification and continuous strengthening of the many-sided collaboration between Romania and Mozambique.

Ceausescu Hosts Dinner

AU2205194889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 22 May 89

["Official Dinner"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/05/1989—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, gave an official dinner at the Palace of the State Council on 22 May in honour of the president of the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Joaquim Alberto Chissano.

The attendance included full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the government, representatives of central institutions, of mass and public organizations, other officials.

Present were also the officials accompanying the distinguished guest on his visit to Romania.

During the dinner, the atmosphere of which was of warm friendship, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Joaquim Alberto Chissano proposed toasts followed with interest and punctuated by applause.

The national anthems of the People's Republic of Mozambique and of the Socialist Republic of Romania were played.

Ceausescu Toasts Chissano

AU2605095289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 May 89 p 1, 3

["Toast by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" at a dinner given by Ceausescu in honor of Mozambican President Joaquim Alberto Chissano in Bucharest on 22 May]

[Text] Dear Comrade President Joaquim Alberto Chissano, dear comrades and friends:

It is a special pleasure for me to convey you, in this framework too, warm comradely greetings and the friendly wish of welcome to our country, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee, of the State Council, and on my own.

Your visit to Romania is new proof of the traditional links of cooperation and solidarity between our two parties, countries, and peoples, the foundations of which were laid in the hard years of the Mozambican people's heroic fight for national liberation, for its independence, for the building of a new, and free life in Mozambique.

I would like to underscore, on this occasion, too, the special importance the Romanian-Mozambican summit meetings and talks have had over the years in the development of productive cooperation between the two parties, countries, and peoples. We wish that your current visit and the talks we will conduct will go down as a new, important moment in the strengthening of Romanian-Mozambican friendship and collaboration on multiple planes, in line with our two peoples' interests in progress and free development, with the cause of international peace and collaboration.

Comrade President, we are particularly appreciative of the Mozambican people's efforts for its free, independent development and, as close friends. We wish that you score further achievements in implementing the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] program for the consolidation of national unity and the socioeconomic development of Mozambique.

Your visit to Romania gives you the opportunity to become directly acquainted with some of the Romanian people's achievements in the 45 years since the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation and, more particularly, after the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965, which paved the way for deep-going, renewing changes in all spheres of economic and social life in our homeland. Due to the people's united work, we have powerfully developed industry, agriculture, science, and culture, and in March this year we wiped out the country's foreign debt, ensuring Romania's full economic and political independence.

The 14th RCP Congress due in November will set the orientations of our country's socioeconomic development in the Ninth 5-Year Plan interval, 1991-1995, and the prospects for next century, in certain domains for the beginning of the third millenium, when Romania is to be a multifaceted developed country with high material and spiritual standards of civilization, which enables the full assertion of the communist principles of work and life. Comrade President, Romania attaches great importance to the development of its relations with all states, irrespective of social system, on the basis of full equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

There are great political, economic, and military contradictions in the world, which render the international situation particulary complex, contradictory, and serious.

The steps taken due to the accord struck between the Soviet Union and the United States on the removal of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and through the passage to the negotiated settlement of a number of issues have not made a radical change in world politics. Actions running counter to detente have been taken of late and the NATO proposals for the modernization of short-range missiles may lead not only to the annulment of the progress made through the Soviet-U.S. accords, but also to an increase in destructive nuclear forces. At the same time, nuclear tests continue and programs aimed at the militarizaiton of outer space expand.

Under these circumstances, our country considers that the fight for disarmament and peace is the fundamental issue for the present and future of all states and peoples.

Romania states firmly and calls on all states, on all governments, on the political forces to fight and to firmly act for the complete renunciation of the modernization of tactical weapons and of short-range missiles, for their complete elimination, for the conclusion of an accord on a 50-percent cut in strategic nuclear weapons and the complete elimination of all nuclear arms by the year 2000, for a drastic reduction of conventional weapons and of military spending—the sole way for mankind's survival, for life on our planet.

As a European country, Romania is determined to do its utmost so as to contribute to growing economic, technical, scientific, cultural, and other collaboration among all the countries on the continent, for the building of a united and powerful Europe of free and independent nations, of progress and peace.

Our country has consistently worked for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, good neighbourliness, and broad collaboration among all the states, without nuclear or chemical weapons, without troops or foreign military bases.

Romania militates unswervingly for the elimination of the use and threat of force from international relations, for the settlement of all existing conflicts—in the Middle East, in Central America, in Asia, Africa, and other areas—by political means, through negotiations.

Romania actively supports the peoples' national liberation fight and states firmly for the liquidation of any neocolonialist policy, for the unswerving observance of each nation's right to assert itself in line with its own aspirations.

In this spirit we grant our active support to the fight of the peoples in Austral Africa for a peaceful settlement of their problems, for the cessation of any outside interference in their domestic affairs, and of all subversive and destabilizing actions. We most resolutely condemn the apartheid policy in South Africa. At the same time, we express our conviction that all efforts will be made for the implementation of the resolution of the United Nations Organization regarding the ensurance of Namibia's independence this year.

Our country actively militates for the establishment of a new international economic order and for the narrowing down of the wide gap separating the rich and the poor countries, considering that this is an objective demand for the overcoming of the world economic crisis. Even under conditions of a passage to new development stages, Romania will always remain and cooperate closely with the developing countries for the liquidation of underdevelopment, and for the economic and social progress of each nation.

A just and durable solution to the major and complex issues of the present-day world calls for the active participation in the international life on an equal footing, of all states, more particularly of the small- and medium-sized countries, of the non-aligned countries, of the developing countries which make up world's great majority.

The role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in finding democratic solutions—in the interest of progress, freedom, and independence of people—to all problems confronting mankind today, should more markedly increase.

Although the world situation continues to be serious, we are of the opinion that by working as a united, progressive, anti-imperialist force, peoples everywhere can impose a new democratic policy, can ensure disarmament as well as the peace, progress and prosperity, and the freedom and independence of each and every nation.

Dear comrades and friends, convinced that your visit to Romania, that our talks and understandings will contribute to a still more powerful development of the friendship and collaboration between our parties, countries, and peoples, and to the general cause of peace and the progress of all nations, I wish to toast

—to the progress and prosperity of the friendly Mozambican people,
—to the consolidation of the Romanian-Mozambican friendship and collaboration,
—to peace, understanding and collaboration worldwide,
—to your good health Comrade President Joaquim Alberto Chissano,
—to the good health of you all. (applause)

Chissano Toasts Ceausescu

AU2305113789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0942 GMT 23 May 89

["Toast by Joaquim Alberto Chissano"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/5/1989—Dear Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu, dear members of the party leadership and of the government, dear comrades: Please accept, Comrade President, the profound thanks of the delegation accompanying me and my own thanks for the warm and fraternal reception extended to us since our arrival to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

It is with great satisfaction that we have listened to your kind welcoming address. It reflects the friendship and fine relations between our two countries.

We bring you from Mozambique warm greetings from the people and the government.

Our current visit to your country takes place in the context of the permanent wish to strengthen and consolidate the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and governments.

We visit Romania at a time when its people, under your wise leadership, Comrade President Ceausescu, has recently scored an important victory in economy. The paying off, on March 31, 1989, of Romania's sizeable foreign debt besides reflecting a great spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, points to a high scientific organization of labour and political maturity of the Romanian people.

Romania's economic miracle is not limited to the paying off of the foreign debt. It goes much farther. By assiduous work and lofty political conscience, the Romanian people sees its industry grow at higher rates, which means it is 135 times bigger now than in 1945. Equally important victories were scored also in other domains, more specifically in agriculture, health care and education, which considerably improved the level of life and welfare of all Romanian citizens.

These victories are commendable, they release the productive forces, enlarge the national economic horizon and pave the way to still greater development of the country in every domain. We want to congratulate on this occasion the untiring authors of this so grand work. We wish you courage, perseverence and still bigger successes in future.

Comrade President, our efforts for economic and social development in Mozambique have had to cope with great adversities. Our country is at crossroads between the irreversible advance on the path to the peoples' emancipation and the last bastions of colonialism, segregation and institutionalized injustice in the African Continent.

This delicate and unwanted geopolitical position, that was imposed on us by time and space, has had profound and great influence on the course of events in Mozambique and in most of the countries in southern Africa. Our people has been under arms since 25 years now, to defend itself and reiterate its right to life, to sovereignty and freedom. Yesterday, it was Portuguese colonialism and the war against Ian Smith's minority and illegal regime. Today, it is the fight against the bloody gangs of terrorists and armed bandits who, carrying out plans articulated and commanded from the outside, take in cold blood hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, destroy economic and social infrastructures and everything that makes our people's pride, progress and prosperity.

We have resolutely faced this war, employing every means at hand to organize our people for the country's and its own defence. On the other hand, we make great efforts and sacrifices under the program of economic recovery started in 1987 for the building of a viable, productive economy apt to better cope with the requirements of our people that fights a war.

Next July, the fifth congress of our party takes place. This event of great importance for our life is expected with great interest by our people which enthusiastically makes preparations for it, actively and creatively participating with ideas in the elaboration of the orientations that will lead the homeland's destinies in the five years ahead.

The amnesty law is an important side of the efforts the government makes for the normalization of the Mozambican people's life, for everyone to be able to participate in the country's political, economic, social and cultural life, on the one hand, and in debating and establishing the orientations guiding the country in every one of these compartments, on the other hand.

Comrade President, distinguished members of the party and government, the efforts for peace in Europe and for freeing this continent from the mass destruction weapons enjoy the full support of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The initiatives in this connection have to be matched by similar efforts for freeing the rest of the world of colonialism, of aggression, of state terrorism and destabilization, in order to make of stability and economic progress a reality instead of a dream that cannot come true.

We appreciate the activity deployed by the United Nations secretary-general and his associates for the normalization of the situation in Namibia. The restoration of the calm in this territory is important for the resumption without commotions of the implementation of the Resolution No. 435/78 of the United Nations Security Council in the forms and modalities that make the substance of the Brazzaville protocol and of the New York accords. This process will have to culminate with the complete independence of this last colonial territory in Africa.

The tragic situation in southern Africa is the direct consequence of a regional order characterized by aggression, terrorism and destabilization. These evils may find a definitive solution with the complete eradication of apartheid and of the way of thinking inspiring it. That is why it is important that we should continue the struggle for its elimination in concerted and consistent form.

Comrade President, the bilateral cooperation between our two countries, relying upon equality and mutual advantage is inspired by our permanent wish to find together the most suitable ways to work for the improvement of our peoples' living conditions, by joining our efforts and means.

In this frame, we apply very promising projects in agriculture, industry, geology and mining. We have marked progress in these domains and would have got even better results had it not been for the difficult circumstances that are beyond our two countries' control.

The future prospects are fine and it is very important that we should think of new forms, adjusted to the specific conjunctural realities of each of our countries in order to get the best from the joint ventures. The economic projects in form of joint enterprises might be one of these ways.

We are confident that our peoples' efforts, associated with the Romanian people's support, will culminate with the regaining of peace and stability in our country, which we badly need, so that our cooperation may be rewarded by a more substantive and faster economic, social and cultural development.

Would you, Comrade President, join me in toasting:

—The strengthening of our friendship and cooperation;
—peace and stability in southern Africa and the world over;
—your health, Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu;
—the triumph of socialism;
—the health of the attendance here.

The fight goes on.

LCY's 23d Central Committee Session Reported

LD1805173189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0923 GMT 17 May 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 17 May (TANJUG)—The current political situation in Kosovo and the tasks of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] comprise the basic theme of the 23d session of the LCY Central Committee which began this morning in Belgrade. The introductory speech was made by member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium member Perko Vukotic.

In addition to today's session, the top party forum will adopt this year's financial plan of the LCY Central Committee and will consider several cadre issues: the verification of changes in the composition of the Central Committee and the composition of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the resignations of members of the LCY Central Committee in line with the criteria for the renewal of its composition, the election of the new members to the LCY Central Committee, the formation, composition and tasks of the working group tasked with drawing up proposals for the ideo-political platform for the activity of the LCY in the changes of the political system, and the appointment of a chief and responsible editor of the Komunist publishing center.

According to LCY Central Committee Presidium President Stipe Suvar, a Presidium session will be held this afternoon, which will elect a new LCY Central Committee Presidium president. This change at the top of the party follows the election of Stipe Suvar as a member of the Yugoslav Presidency. In keeping with the established formula the top official of the LCY beginning today will be a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Macedonian LC [League of Communists].

Today's session will not adopt separate conclusions on Kosovo. At the proposal of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, a working group has been formed that will propose operative tasks to the Central Committee for the further implementation of the stances and conclusions on Kosovo.

In resolving problems in Kosovo we should proceed from all tasks facing the LCY with respect to the current Yugoslav position in the world. The approach in the proposed materials does not take this view because it is conceived and based solely on the events and conflicts in Kosovo, Serbia, and the country which led to the introduction of the special measures in Kosovo, Sergej Kraigher, the first discussant, said.

It seems to me, he said, that the present assessment of the November events, which to my mind were decisive for Kosovo, is one-sided and insufficiently subtantiated. For that reason, I am slightly skeptical about all consequences stemming from such a one-sided assessment in the unresolved situation affecting practical application of the ideopolitical differentation currently underway.

Practice shows that frontal assessment of activities and character of events in which broad masses of working people and citizens are involved, as a rule pushes many to the enemy and it renders masses of people passive. [passage omitted]

I believe that a pragmatic and partial approach to these problems is harmful from the point of view of establishing basic problems and from the point of view of assessing the true importance of the achieved results in resolving the existing contradictions. They are harmful, especially from the position of international importance of these problems, both for further peaceful development and cooperation in the Balkans and for a constructive role of our country in these processes, and, for our role in the world and our interest in including the country in the modern integration processes, especially in Europe. They are also harmful from the standpoint of understanding specific conditions in which our subjective forces carry out their concrete tasks. [passage omitted]

Kraigher further said that in the implementation of the social reform we must accept as the fact the existence and activity of independent political subjects in our society and the Socialist Alliance. The LC should even encourage their independence, of course, based on the positions of the socialist self-managing development of our community, equality of nations and nationalities and the nonaligned policy of Yugoslavia. It is impossible to prevent, by administrative means, independent sociopolitical subjects to express their views about vital issues for Yugoslavia, such as the situation and development in Kosovo.

The crisis with which we have been struggling for almost 10 years, and whose roots we see but do not resolve, is the expression of not implementing, that is, inconsistency and hesitation regarding two fundamental elements: socialist self-management and equality of nations and nationalities. The first is evident in not understanding the market, and the second in not starting from a man as an integral person. Thus, it is not incidental that the cause of many political events and conflicts in almost all republics in the last few years is an encroachment of the rights of man and the rights of self-managers. Kraigher believes that the current policy in Kosovo and in Serbia in relation to Kosovo, should be reconsidered from the standpoint of realization of the two cited elements. The same applies in appropriate aspects to Yugoslavia and other republics and their mutual relations and activities in federal bodies.

Finally, Kraigher said that it would be useful for the Serbian LC if we all together were to consider the implementation of the Yugoslav program for prevention of emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. [passage omitted]

The former Kosovo leadership tried to dilute LCY policy and prevent specific action, stressed Zoran Sokolovic. The situation in Kosovo was presented in relative terms,

and the revision of LC policy in the province prevented action by the progressive forces in Kosovo. In some parts of the country there were attempts to carry out a revision of the LCY course toward Kosovo, noted Sokolovic.

With cadre renewal in the Kosovo leadership, for the first time since 1981, a fundamental settling of accounts has been started with the policy of separatism. This is why in March, stressed Sokolovic, there were conflicts between Albanian separatists and nationalists and the legal organs of the Yugoslav state.

Today's unity in the Kosovo leadership, in Sokolovic's opinion, is encouraging; a clear demarcation line has been drawn around Albanian separatism, and a process of differentiation opened up. For this reason the LCY Central Committee can conclude that in Kosovo the conditions have been created for the counterrevolution to be uprooted and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins to be halted, he said.

The current process of political consideration is showing how damaging opportunistic behavior is. The positive processes have made it possible (?for many to) speak out openly and to uncover the goals of separatism. Despite all the problems the action of the LC in Kosovo is encouraging, the core has been created of a united front in the struggle against separatism, said Sokolovic. This is why the LCY Central Committee should give its resolute and unequivocal support to the leadership and the communists of Kosovo. The Serbian LC gives this support daily in the field, stressed Sokolovic, noting that the Kosovo problem can be solved only with the united action of the LCY and Yugoslavia.

Here there is no place for two-faced policies, where one thing is said at open sessions, another at closed ones, where conclusions are accepted, but not carried out in the field, where something is agreed upon in the LCY Central Committee, and something different is done, warned Sokolovic. In his opinion, the qualifications that accompanied the passing of the Serbian constitutional changes were worrisome, such as the qualification that stated that this was a forced union to bring about the homogenization of the Serbian people.

Some people complain because those who contributed, by their actions or inaction, to the failure to implement LCY policy in Kosovo, have left the political scene. These complaints come from environments where we have not heard calls for humane behavior, for respect for human rights in connection with the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, concerning the destruction of their property, and instances of mistreatment and rape. The LCY Central Committee cannot ignore this, it must have a clear stance in this respect, stressed Sokolovic.

He pointed to the need to oppose any anti-Albanian mood and all attempts on the part of Serbian nationalism to make use of the Kosovo situation for its own ends. Sokolovic, in particular, assessed as unacceptable the criticisms of the special measures undertaken by the State Presidency in Kosovo, which proclaim them to be an uninstitutional step and a victory for the forces of repression over democracy. The measures, in the opinion of Sokolovic, are essential for as long as the reasons for their introduction remain. They have not destroyed the scope for political action, on the contrary, they have created the preconditions for that action to be waged, stressed Sokolovic.

Today's debate as well, Stevan Mirkovic said, shows the extent to which we differ in our views on Kosovo and the situation in it. It is normal that there are differences in views, he assessed, but it is tragic if we persist in retaining these differences and maintain such relations. The lack of familiarity with the real situation in Kosovo, Mirkovic said, is very much present. Insufficient information, lacking in direct insight, is often used in official assessments. Sometimes it is emotions that dominate, sometimes certain daily political interests. The public information media write about Kosovo quite superficially and often it is incorrect. Mirkovic illustrated this assessment with the fact that the members of reserve security forces, who were in Kosovo, were badly informed about the situation in this province and did not know a great deal.

Views on Kosovo, however, cannot be black or white. Kosovo has, Mirkovic pointed out, many shades, and the situation in this province should not be embellished and presented as rosy. We are dutybound to tell the truth. Commenting on views that in Kosovo it is not a matter of hostile activity, Stevan Mirkovic said that is an illusion. We must accept the fact that there is hostile activity in Kosovo and in accordance with this conduct, all our actions. In Kosovo we will, he stressed, have to deal with the enemy for a long time.

Stevan Mirkovic also commented on the widely spread news that separatist and nationalistic ideology has a small impact on the Albanian nationality. How can we then explain mass participation of young people in hostile demonstrations, Mirkovic asked.

Pointing out differences in assessments of the present situation in Kosovo, Stevan Mirkovic stressed that we should not deceive ourselves that the situation in this province would stabilize quickly. Stating that in spite of this there is no room for desperation, Mirkovic asked what should be done now?

According to him the final solution is a political one, but we should not neglect administrative measures either: They should ensure the functioning of the system, legality and peace, and they are directed against those who use violence.

Initiatives to abolish emergency measures as a matter of urgency are too early, Mirkovic assessed. They will still be necessary, and it has been shown how indispensable,

wise, and efficient they were. It is an illusion that by abolishing them the situation in Kosovo would return to normal. On the contrary, Mirkovic said.

There is a great deal of passion and noise about Kosovo, but little help, Stevan Mirkovic said. We all have to help Kosovo, and in particular, the Presidency and the LC Provincial Committee [PC]. This help is expected primarily from this Central Committee and its Presidium.

The key for the Kosovo lock is, after all, in the hands of Kosovo Communists. In this connection, the responsibility of Serbian Communists is also big, Mirkovic said.

We are always talking about the need for the widest possible participation of Albanians in social action, but we have still not found out how to do it. In this connection he stressed that we did not mind that the Albanian nationality was turned toward Albania. There is the mother nation, but their looking toward Albania should serve Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Kosovo as well as Balkan cooperation.

As far as a further involvement of the security services in Kosovo is concerned, Mirkovic said that these forces continued to ensure peace, order, and a system in the province.

The Yugoslav People's Army, Mirkovic said in this regard, does not wish the emergency measures to last a long time, but the situation demands it. We must take the truth into account. Mirkovic in particular pointed out the significant role of the militia in the last aggressive demonstrations by the Albanian nationalists. We believe we are still not aware of the significance of the role the militia played and still plays in the fate of the country.

It is tragic that blood was shed, but that is what the enemy wanted.

Stating that the Yugoslav People's Army is also the army of the Albanian nation, Mirkovic resolutely refuted claims that Albanians were looked down upon in the army. This is a question, posed in a certain way, coming from a different attitude, but delivered in a positive way. He illustrated this with the great support given to the enrollment of Albanians to military schools and academies, as well as by the increased admission of the soldiers of the Albanian nationality among the ranks of the LCY.

Compared to the preceding year, last year this increase was 77 percent. Most of the soldiers from among the ranks of this nationality are exemplary, some are passive and a small section very aggressive. He also presented the information that between January and April of this year, 47.2 percent of nationalistic assaults in the Yugoslav People's Army were carried out by Albanian nationalists. Compared to the last year this is an increase of 34.24 percent. During this period 19 groups of Albanian nationalists were uncovered in the Yugoslav People's Army. In the same period only seven groups were uncovered last year.

In conclusion, Stevan Mirkovic said that in Yugoslavia no one had the right to view Kosovo from a distance, from a "bird's perspective." We all have to help Kosovo, Mirkovic concluded.

Good intranational relations are the condition of prosperity of our society and therefore the LC is manifesting a high degree of responsibility and consistency in this respect, believes Haralampij Krstevski. Unfortunately, nationalism has come into our lives through the front door. Albanian nationalists and separatists are the most aggressive and perfidious in their actions, advocating obscure aims and destroying intranational relations. [passage omitted]

Kosovo is our reality and we must not be divided over it. It is precisely these divisions in the LC, in the SAWP [Socialist Autonumous Workers Party] and other organs and organizations which have led to the present situation, Musaja Pepic is convinced. He added that state organs failed to live up to their expectations and waited for the LCY Central Committee to make an assessment which was a very slow process. A confusion was thus created among the nations and nationalities. [passage omitted]

The situation in Kosovo continues to be difficult and complex, but it is gradually improving owing to the special measures and the increasingly widespread support and political action of the LC and other subjective forces. Our optimism is moderate, of course, but there are more and more reasons for it, though we know that there still exists a latent danger from new hostile activities, said Rahman Morina.

The extraordinary measures helped restore the trust of members of all nations and nationalities in the readiness and resolve of Yugoslavia for a commitment toward a speedier and more effective stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. This contributed to more relaxed political measures and other activities.

The past few months were marked by a persistent and difficult ideopolitical struggle for the realization of the LC policy on Kosovo. The wrongly conducted political work over the years, superficial and incomplete differentiation, opportunism and maneuvring with the exponents of nationalist and counter revolutionary activity, have brought us into today's situation where we are waging a resolute struggle for the preservation of the country's security, its territorial integrity and constitutional system, said Morina.

In these aggravated conditions and with the help and support from the LCY Central Committee, especially the Serbian LC, unity has been reached in the PC over the

LCY policy concerning the assessment of events from November to March. This unity was a serious encouragement for all communists, for all nations and nationalists in Kosovo, especially the Albanians among whom there is an increasing number of those who are resolutely fighting for the normalization of the situation.

Owing to the activity of the LC and other progressive forces and the widespread political action a nucleus is being formed in Kosovo at the moment of the common struggle of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, and Croats which is gradually being transferred among the people. There is growing awareness in party organizations of common interests. Though we are not yet satisfied with the achieved, we can feel, he noted, a new political atmosphere being born in numerous milieux in which there was a complete opposition to political work until yesterday, because links are beginning to be established among communists, working people, and citizens. The political action and struggle for the full normalization of the situation and the struggle for human beings will, however, be difficult and longlasting because Kosovo has, for a long time, been left to the fate marked by inertia in the political work.

Rahman Morina then dwelled on the special measures and stressed that they were only a temporary solution which should make possible a speedier recovery alongside with the broadest and well-planned political activity. These measures should remain in force until necessary, because peaceful and secure life must be guaranteed to all people in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

A careful analysis of the activity of Albanian nationalism reveals an orientation toward the deepening of distrust not only in Serbs and Montenegrins, but also in the Albanians who are consistent in following the LCY line. We will not be able to do anything unless we initiate a broad movement for the struggle against the activity of the enemy. In this respect we need the help from the entire Yugoslav community, said Morina.

In the process of the ideopolitical differentiation there have been dismissals, replacements, and resignations, but we must for a long time yet be persistent and patient in our political actions to influence the awareness of people to change. Cadre changes will not and cannot mean anything by themselves until all the people in Kosovo can feel that the situation has improved regarding their jobs, homes, shopping, walks, schools in which they children are educated.

For the first time in a long period the Kosovo LC and Serbian LC leaderships have identical views which are also supported by the LCY Central Committee. These assessments were not united, not only because the constitutional system was in jeopardy, but also because unity was ensured in the political action of the Kosovo and Serbian LCs, not only in the assessments of events but also in assessing what needs to be done jointly. [passage omitted]

Various examples of misinformation about Kosovo, as well as numerous lies on the position of Albanians in Yugoslavia coming from the media in some parts of our country are causing greater damage to the position and reputation of Yugoslavia in the world than any propaganda by foreign media. For instance, it has been written in our country that not 22 but several hundred people died in March demonstrations in Kosovo. How is the world to believe us and why should those ill-disposed believe the official information when no one is responsible for the unofficial and incorrect one, wondered Morina.

Furthermore, some statements and political moves not only disturb people, but directly jeopardize the country's future. We in Kosovo can no longer allow, and this Central Committee should do the same, that orientations of leaderships in the country be tested on our problems. One gets the impression that not all leaderships are truly interested in building bridges of togetherness and Yugoslav spirit with the help of Kosovo. If this is the case, this Central Committee must prevent it.

If we had assessed the November gatherings and demonstrations in a timely manner, such divisions among communists, and not only among them, would not have occurred. The February events would not have assumed such proportions, and probably the same holds true for the March events. The insistence of some individuals to say that the assessments of these events were too severe or to offer different assessments from those of the provincial committee is in contradiction with the LCY policy and yields no good results.

Rahman Morina then talked about the need to work politically among the rank and file, to exacerbate the issue of responsibility, and to educate youths about the difficult economic situation which burdens even more the situation in Kosovo, as well as about difficulties in associating labor and resources.

Today it is absolutely clear, Morina stressed, that the situation in Kosovo can be improved only if a complete, principled and consistent differentiation regarding all cadres who had a decisive influence on the escalation of nationalism and separatism is carried out. No question can remain unanswered. People want to know who is responsible for everything that happened to us, what keeps bringing us back to the starting point, what creates dilemmas, misunderstandings, and dissatisfaction in the public, and in the final analysis, slows down and blocks single action in the Kosovo LC. [passage omitted]

Bozidar Debenjak said that it is necessary to single out in the session's conclusions the elements essential for removal of economic and other sources of crisis, and those elements essential for the development and establishment of trust in Kosovo. For the latter to be achieved, development is essential and more people must be employed to reduce a source from which irredenta gains its strength.

Debenjak said in conclusion that he was deeply hurt by Zoran Sokolovic's statements. He talked triumphantly about the results achieved and broken careers without mentioning the victims. He added that he will do everything to ensure there are no victims in the future. As a philosopher, I am deeply disturbed that someone can rejoice without having mercy for the victims, Debenjak said.

In a short reply, Zoran Sokolovic noted that he is not a philosopher but an ordinary man and that he resolutely rejects all insinuations made by the previous speakers. [passage omitted]

Nijaz Skenderagic stressed: "The fact is that numerous Albanians are feeling like second-rate citizens, and it is irrelevant whether they feel so for real or invented reasons. Everything that happens in Kosovo is immediately called separatism, is immediately considered suspicious. Thus, it looks as if all environments except Kosovo, except Albanian workers, have the right to social revolt, to express dissatisfaction, to exert pressure."

In conclusion, Skenderagic stressed that in Kosovo and beyond "there is no need for political persecution or anything similar. Arrests, sentences and other repressive measures only multiply the enemy's number," Nijaz Skenderagic said. [passage omitted]

After the discussion Chairman Perko Vukotic told the Central Committee that a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium had been held during the break in connection with the discussion thus far on item one of the agenda. A stand was adopted whereby the discussion should be continued within the framework of the theme while some questions and initiatives from the discussions should be included in the work program of the LCY Central Committee Presidium sessions.

Stipe Suvar then said that the Presidium also examined his proposal to be relieved as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium before the end of his mandate because of his assuming a new office and also because the Presidium elected by secret ballot Milan Pancevski to be the new president.

Having thanked the LCY Central Committee Presidium for the honor, Milan Pancevski expressed gratitude to the Central Committee as well and said that he was deeply convinced that the problems faced could not be overcome without the active participation of every member of the Presidium, the Central Committee, and the LCY. [passage omitted]

After the Central Committee endorsed his resignation from the LCY Central Committee and the Presidium Presidency, Stipe Suvar addressed the top party forum. He said: I held the office of Presidium president for the past 10 and ½ months and during this time the Central Committee, the Presidium and I personally were exposed not only to the pressure of unfavorable trends in the LC itself and in the country and to serious criticism, but also to the most concrete pressure—both justified and unjustified—which has seriously hindered normal work in the spirit of the LCY program , the LCY statute, the decisions of the 13th congress and the conclusions of the Central Committee itself.

I will not talk about my own work, about what I did or did not do or failed to do because this would be inappropriate and it is not up to me to make assessments of events or things we were confronted with in the Central Committee or around it, particularly in the Presidium. Hopefully, future congresses and conferences of the League of Communists will assess them.

However, I would repeat, as far as I am concerned and as far as the work of the Presidium is concerned, what I said at the 20th Central Committee session. Speaking at this session in connection with the discussion raised by a member of the LCY Central Committee, I said the following: "It is not a matter of individuals. Nor of private politics. It is a matter, at least as far as I am concerned, whether I am or am not carrying out my function as primus inter pares in the Presidium, and as far as all the Presidium members are concerned whether they are implementing the policy of the Central Committee and whether they are fighting as much as they can and as much as such conditions allow."

I was not therefore the engine-driver of a train pulling in this or that direction, but the LCY Central Committee Presidium president, the first among equals in a collective executive organ which cannot conduct individual policies, especially not some kind of a rival policy in relation to any other individual, but which must behave and act only within the framework of the provisions of the LCY statute, codes of practice on the LCY Central Committee work and on the work of the LCY Presidium and the duties and rights of individuals holding such duties.

We should of course all adhere to the statute and code of practice both in the Presidium and the Central Committee and in every League of Communists leadership.

I hope you will not reproach me if I say just one more thing, that in connection with what I personally lived through and what I was faced with I personally do not wish on anyone to have to face certain things with which I did during these 10 and ½ months as Presidium president. An individual is not all that important here, it is the leadership and our entire organization, the spirit and relations in it, and even its prospects that are important. I express gratitude to both the Central Committee and the majority of people in the Presidium for giving me a vote of confidence on several occasions. Through their support numerous communists and organizations and also a considerable part of our public gave me the strength to endure. Without this support I would have withdrawn.

The fact is, said Suvar, our public were aware that the Central Committee and the Presidium had come under justified intensified criticism by the party grassroots and public because of insufficient resolve and unity, and individuals, under certain justified criticism, were forced to leave the Central Committee; but the Central Committee and the Presidium also came under attack with groundless, fabricated, constructed, orchestrated criticism which, unfortunately, did not have any consequences for the members and leaders of the League of Communists who were doing the criticizing.

It seems to me that we did not find enough strength, resoluteness, or the proper methods for opposing the policy which was inclined toward constant criticism of the top leadership between two congresses and its executive organ, whereby on the one hand they were ascribed full authority and power which, it was alleged, they would not make use of, while on the other hand their intentions were suspect and the accusation was constantly made against them that an alleged unprincipled coalition was prevailing, that they were the bastions of the bureaucratic counterrevolution, that they were contributing to the weakening of Yugoslavia, they they were sowing disunity, and so on.

Of course, neither the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, nor any one of its members should be spared the sharpest criticism, but this should be done with arguments, they should not be spared from being called to account for what has been done and what has not been done on the basis of and within the framework of the LCY Statute. So, in the same way, our party leadership must finally begin to more energetically resist the policy and practice of constant attacks on them which bring into question not just their authority and effectiveness but also the normal activity of the LCY as a united organization.

It is clear, unfortunately, that it is not worth replying to these whole campaigns of slander, because those who wage them do not care about the facts or the truth—things that have been cleared up many times are still countlessly repeated.

I am deeply convinced, stressed Suvar, that the LCY Central Committee will nevertheless in the future find the strength not only to resist such tendencies toward its destruction, but also to win the respect and application of the LCY Statute with regard to those members, organizations, and leaders who are resorting to methods that are profoundly opposed to the very democratic revolutionary essence and the deep ethos which has been testified to in the histroy of the organization of Yugoslav Communists.

I would also note that a cause for great concern is the mass violation of the statute in certain parts of the League of Communists in that there are investigations, for example, into what people may have said years ago at party meetings; these people are then punished and expelled for those things. This is not even mentioning various other forms of violating the principles of democracy within the party and in society.

Because what is also worrying are the phenomena of a real political lynching of people, inhumane relations toward them, and sometimes an even worse attitude toward them than, for example, that of the Communists toward the enemy during the war.

For various reasons 48 members have left the LCY Central Committee and the same number of new members have joined it, while, also for various reasons, 14 of the 23 Presidium members have changed. In some cases it is a real shame for the League of Communists that some individuals have left. But I would say that the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium despite everything, despite various truly unprincipled pressures and whole campaigns to which the LCY Central Committee and Presidium have been exposed particularly since last summer and which coincided with my period of duty as president—have, by explanation and by involving the great majority, shown the extent of their responsibility for political reform, for unity in line with the 13th congress and the LCY conference, for the action of Communists in Kosovo, for a spirit of democracy and a climate of dialogue. Testifying to this are the sessions of this Central Committee, for the 16th to today's 23d, and all those moments in the work of the Central Committee and the Presidium when they preserved their dignity and integrity.

Thanks to this Central Committee and to its activities, particularly of late, the orientation toward a reform course has been made firm, as was shown particularly by our 17th, 18th, 19th, and 22d sessions. The changes in the SFRY Constitution have been strongly supported, as have the directions of economic reform. The constitutional changes in the Republic of Serbia were adopted more easily. There was more resolute action for the eradication of the counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalism in Kosovo, which we are discussing today. There was a correct reaction to the phenomena of large workers' strikes. There was a determined defense of Tito's work and name. The subjects of intraethnic relations and the growth of nationalism were placed on the agenda, as well as that of political pluralism and so on.

Unfortunately, our discussions, conclusions, and demands often did not bring, and still do not bring, the expected results. For example we have not succeeded, particularly in some environments, in halting the escalation of attacks on Tito. What is more, they have recently increased in direct and indirect ways and in this to a great extent there has been a deafness to the conclusions of the base which has called for an end to the attacks on Tito and for responsibility to be established for them, a calling for accountability.

The LC will also have to concern itself with some other phenomena which have in particular escalated lately—lightly considered rehabilitations of individuals without

broader party discussion, analyses, and stances, as well as lightly made criticisms and denigration of people who are no longer alive and who cannot defend themselves, and so on.

We are also accountable for the fact that we did not energetically call for the respecting of and carrying out of the decisions and conclusions of this LCY Central Committee, on the principle of democratic centralism and the application of the statute.

In this respect there were compromises in our work and a yielding to the policy of the fait accompli, as well as opportunism, fear of the consequences of persecution, a digging in behind the position of the base, in whose name individuals acted, and other similar behavior.

I am convinced that the LCY transformation as proposed, as well as the deep and unavoidable democratization of relations in it and in the whole of society, will lead to a strengthening of the role and the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee, not as some kind of place that issues incontestable directives but truly as the top LC leadership both as a revolutionary and as a democratic organization.

I am convinced that this Central Committee and its Presidium will act successfully in this remaining period before the 14th, extraordinary congress, and that it will consistently involve itself in line with our strategic reform commitments, and that it will fight against all attacks and weaknesses which are not in the spirit and tradition of our communist movement, and about which I have spoken.

We must all work so that a profoundly transformed LC, which will also preserve in itself the best things from its own glorious past, can regain the strength and influence as the cohesive ideological and political force of our socialist society, the internal motive force of the working class and the people in our system of socialist self-management, said Suvar.

Some time ago when the laborious institutionalization of unity and fellowship in Serbia was completed and when we in the Presidium strongly criticized manifested disunity over the events in Kosovo, I thought that the time of confrontation was over and that the time was approaching of different activities in Kosovo when we can and must turn toward other vital questions concerning Yugoslavia, stressed Stanko Radmilovic. [passage omitted]

Although homogenization is present in Slovenia as a phenomenon it is much criticized there, he said. This is explained by the reaction to homogenization and undemocratic methods in the function of changes in the Serbia, though the events in Serbia, in Radmilovic's opinion, did not even in an indirect way threaten Slovenia. The facts show that these two homogenizations are diametrically opposed both by their motives and by programs.

The only thing they have in common is the fact that they were both caused by the attitude to the Yugoslav community such as the one created by the amendments of 1971 and the Constitution of 1974, he believes. Three cardinal sins were committed in this respect and this is not just my own opinion. I must mention them briefly so that what I am going to say next will be understood.

The first of the three sins commited by constitutional reform in the seventies was the creation of the consensus economy, stressed Radmilovic.

The second sin in his opinion was the creation of the actual confederation of sovereign states, while the third refers to the institutionalization of relations in Serbia, whereby the provinces were irrevocably given full statehood and Serbia was made even less consistent. [passage omitted]

Homogenization in Slovenia in Radmilovic's assessment, developed in a different way than in Serbia and was based on a substantially different program which did not and does not lead to consolidating Yugoslavia. In Slovenia, Slovenia was not compared to Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia to other countries, but Slovenia to its neighbors. Slovenia's lagging behind its neighbors was noted, he says, adding that the comparison itself of Slovenia to other countries is not a bad thing providing that comparison with other parts of Yugoslavia is not neglected.

In this way a widespread conviction was created which held that Slovenia was paying the price because life together in Yugoslavia and other parts of Yugoslavia constituted a stone around Slovenia's neck which for this reason the country is lagging behind in Europe.

It is not a good thing to freely present lies without the League of Communists and other official organs denying them and without their giving real reasons, he warned, stressing that the real reason for Slovenia's lagging behind and moreover for Yugoslavia's lagging behind Europe is the inadequate system of a confederation with a consensus economy.

The Slovene people were not given such an explanation, he believes, because a thesis has been persistently repeated according to which the struggle for the reform of the political system can only be won at the microeconomic level and by preserving the actual confederation with a consensus economy. This thesis was a basis for further homogenization during the discussion on the critical analysis of the political system and the discussion on changes to the SFRY constitution, through the creation of animosity toward the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and finally in the process of solving the Kosovo problem. The warped interpretation of the events and

changes in Serbia only helped bring homogenization in Slovenia to an end with regard to the program of now already unconcealed fragmentation of Yugoslavia, he stressed. [passage omitted]

Stefan Korosec responded to the discussion by Radmilovic recalling the Central Committee code of practice and the agenda of the session whose theme is Kosovo. He proposed that the Central Committee members should decide for or against the updating of the agenda or whether the discussion which Radmilovic started should be postponed. Radmilovic voiced some political assessments which require political explanations, said Korosec.

Chairman Nedeljko Sipovac supported Korosec's warning noting, however, that the discussion on Kosovo was a complex theme which encroached upon all the problems in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

After Bogoljub Redzic's speech, discussion ended, the third item on today's agenda regarding cadres issues was taken up.

LCY Central Committee members confirmed membership to the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium of Momir Bulatovic, recently elected president of the Presidium of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee. The session also adopted resignations from the LCY Central Committee from Joze Slokar and Dragutin Zelenovic as well as Stipe Suvar's resignation from the LCY Central Committee Presidium, all of them on the basis of the separation functions.

Stipe Suvar talked to members of the LCY Central Committee about his previous work. On behalf of the members of the LCY Central Committee and Presidium, Milan Pancevski thanked Suvar, Slokar, and Zelenovic. Pancevski stressed that the work of this Central Committee, its Presidium, and members would be assessed at the forthcoming, extraordinary congress. Members of the LCY Central Committee interrupted the words of thanks with applause. [passage omitted]

LCY Central Committee members adopted a financial plan for this year. They also adopted LCY Central Committee proposals for rationalizing financial activity. This envisages a 5-10 percent reduction in LCY Central Committee professional services members and reduced spending for publishing. [passage omitted]

Dragan Kalinic, as many others before him, thought that the 1974 Constitution objectively enabled Albanization of Yugoslav territory and continued pursuit of the idea of a greater Albania. The state intervened with special measures in Kosovo not only to prevent imminent civil war but to preserve Yugoslav territory. [passage omitted]

Through the introduction of special measures and resulting political actions, Kosovo has been subjected to a process of pacification which has helped to eliminate the immediate danger of serious intra-national conflicts and their fatal consequences, Enver Sehovic said. But, the political price of pacification, let alone the economic one, is exceptionally high and it will undoubtedly result in even more serious problems and more dramatic divisions unless there is an urgent action to open up the process of fundamental democratic reconstruction of the entire society and of Kosovo in particular.

Following this introduction, Sehovic presented his view of the current situation in Kosovo in light of the emergency measures. When a country that rightly calls itself Tito's Yugoslavia resorts to the practice of isolating people in unknown locations for an indefinite period of time and without any legal protection, in other words, when it resorts to measures characteristic of totalitarian South American regimes and a different type of socialism, when ongoing processes of differentation are affecting a wide circle of intellectuals, businessmen, public political and other personalities, young people, and citizens despite growing local opposition to such measures, when Europe is unambiguous about its concern over what we have been doing while at the same time it has vital interests, for its own reasons, of course, to see stability, economic recovery, and democratic development in our country, when our moves fail to gain approval from the European left, should we not see it as our communist duty Sehovic stressed, to bring new dimensions to a debate on these problems?

Sehovic approved of the mainpoints of Vukotic's introductory report, but then drew attention to a special dimension which, according to him, was not touched upon in the report. This refers to, as he put it, "the effects of the Serbian LC's national program on the situation in Kosovo, or, if you will permit me, to the Milosevic phenomenon, where the name is used more as a symbol of particular policy and less as reference to a particular person who, nevertheless, plays an important part in that policy. I also refer here to the effects, on Kosovo too, of frenzied Serbian nationalism, which today is manifested in two forms: as an updated derivative of the bourgeois, Pasic-type vision of Serbia and its own Yugoslavia and as the activity of those forces which, in principle, favor market economy." In this context he spoke about the diversion of resources.

To achieve this, the power of the state, and of the federal state in particular, must be enhanced. Since this is no easy task in a complex, multinational country, the LC, according to the logic of these forces, should be organized as a traditional hierarchical Communist Party with an enhanced role for the center and strong internal uniformity, which would be the main lever in this model of social and economic relations.

This model is called Stalinism by some, Sehovic said, but I think they are exaggerating. I would rather call it the Vasil-Bilak idea of socialism and fraternal assistance for individual nations. We have already had offers of such assistance.

After describing the policy of the Serbian LC in these terms, Sehovic continued by talking about some aspects of the process of national homogenization in Serbia which originated and gained its momentum from the problem of Kosovo and the plight of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and initially brought the sufferings of these people closer to the wider Yugoslav public, helped us to view the situation in a more serious light, to experience it more personally, and to start solving the problem at the level of the entire country. He also spoke about ambiguities in the way relations in Serbia had been regulated and the need to make changes, which has now been done. Unfortunately, this process very quickly left that phase behind; its real objectives became clearer in light of specific actions, moves, and initiatives. Here Sehovic referred to "the triumph, with no limit and taste, which greeted the formal setting up of Serbia as a state but which, in light of the circumstances in which it all happened, left the world aghast and showed to what extent was taken into consideration the position of the people, who were constantly invoked and who, because they were in Kosovo, had to face problems and frustrations that have now become familiar."

This triumph, Sehovic continued, showed that it was not in fact these people who mattered but rather, the power of the leader and his mass movement. This triumphant outburst was not just a formal tribute for what the leader has done but it was meant more as an encouragement to say what he, soon afterward, said from the platform of the Serbian LC Central Committee, in a way that is uncommon in our practice so far. At that session he heralded an onslaught on the 1974 Constitution, in other words, on Yugoslavia's federal system. What he meant exactly and what ideas are behind it was revealed today by Comrade Radmilovic.

Regardless of the fact that the message was formulated in such a way as to sound moderate and diluted, its meaning was not difficult to grasp if the following is taken into consideration: the well-considered pseudo-theoretical basis for resolving social problems and contradictions outside regular institutions; continued attempts to use Kosovo as an instrument for tackling some other major problems in Yugoslavia and a stubborn desire to use emergency situation to arrive at desired solutions in environments other than one's own; renewed attempts to introduce in the LCY the "one member, one vote" principle which, as far as I am concerned, is a blatant "letter of intent;" the well-planned and practically institutionalized formula whereby any criticism of certain aspects of the policy of the Serbian LC is interpreted as an attack on the Serbian people and—the Serbian people being pro-Yugoslavia—an attempt at destroying Yugoslavia; and the tolerant attitude to Serbian nationalism—and there are many examples to illustrate this. It then becomes clear that, for the sake of Kosovo and the action to help Kosovo, it is necessary to embark on a struggle against Serbian nationalism in a more intensive and more specific manner than before. Sehovic proposed that, to this end, the Serbian LC should reveal its ideas and views of national relations, to assess its achievements in this sphere and to say what concrete actions it intends to take against Serbian nationalism to help the struggle of Albanians and other progressive people in Kosovo.

In conclusion, Sehovic suggested that the Central Committee should propose that the practice of keeping people incommunicado be abandoned and that people be allowed to go free. [passage omitted]

Dobrivoje Vidic took the floor and said that it was not his intention to analyze Enver Sehovic's discussion but that he wanted to say that he was the Yugoslav ambassador in the Soviet Union at the time of the intervention by Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia in 1968. I am amazed and cannot understand how Comrade Sehovic could introduce Vasil Bilak and the "Big Brother" to our session, he said. Even as a symbol it is simply impossible. For, Vasil Bilak is linked with—and this is a well-known historical fact—Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, that is, with the arrival of foreign troops in Czechoslovakia at the order of a foreign power, of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact member states.

I ask Comrade Sehovic to explain which foreign troops are in Kosovo and from which state, also which foreign government has given its order to bring these foreign troops to Kosovo? [passage omitted] I most resolutely reject insinuations and swindles addressed to the Serbian LC. The constitutional set-up of Serbia was done along the lines of the LCY, on the basis of the decisions of the 13th congress and this Central Committee, and not on the basis of some alleged national program, Skundric said.

If Sehovic does not perceive the depth of democratic processes in Serbia happening in front of our public and the world, then it is useless to provide any arguments for him. The claim that Serbia wants to divert income is unfounded, Skundric said. He illustrated with the example of the disparity of prices of electricity, how billions of dinars are diverted from Serbia to other parts of the country.

Skundric stressed that the critical situation in Kosovo brought the people, and not individuals as some claim, to the front of the SFRY Assembly this winter. As a result of such a situation, the SFRY Presidency introduced the special measures. What is hapening now is not repression of the people, but opposition to counterrevolutionary forces that wanted to cause bloodshed, Skundric said. He also said that the LCY must affirm the results of the Provincial Committee's work. For the first time the Kosovo LC has a leadership that has started to implement the LCY policy, Skundric said.

He believes that the world public should be told that what has been happening in Kosovo is an attempt to secede, and not the struggle for the 1974 Constitution, as the forces of the counterrevolution present the situation. They intend to gain the sympathy of circles in the country and abroad.

It has been more than once that Yugoslavia was passing its most difficult test in curbing the counterrevolution in Kosovo, Nikola Jovanovic said. He expressed his puzzlement over some previous discussions, in paricular that by Enver Sehovic. He did not agree with some assessments of Stipe Suvar from his, as he put it, farewell speech, and at the same time he said that because of such assessments, Suvar would not be able to avoid political responsibility at the 14th LCY Congress. [passage omitted]

Remarking that the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee were not implemented consistently in all parts of the LCY, Javanovic said that the enemy in Kosovo used to the maximum disunity and opportunism in the Central Committee. In connection with this, he reviewed the meeting in Cankar Hall and cited Milan Kucan's words regarding defense of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. I ask myself what kind of defense of the AVNOJ Yugoslavia was it that happened in Stari Trg. We have not heard that the Slovene LC revised Kucan's assessment later, Jovanovic noted.

Daily I am becoming convinced that Albanian nationalists and separatists are not the only ones who see Yugoslavia as an imposition, Jovanovic said and advocated a united front against everyone who, under the cover of democracy, is working against the country.

Jovanovic finally noted that even after the constitutional changes in the Serbian SR, accusations are pouring forth. Who needs a frenzied campaign against the Serbian leadership, Jovanovic asked. [passage omitted]

Now it is quite clear that the situation in Kosovo can be changed only by new people, a new leadership in that province, stated Dusica Tanaskovic-Danilovic. This is shown by the current activities in Kosovo, although these are not enough to satisfy us. She also pointed to the need for a realistic assessment of the situation. We are all for democracy and the democratic resolution of problems. However, we must see that the extraordinary measures were a necessity. The degree of unity that has been achieved in the Kosovo leadership seems to be bothering some people already. She linked this to the accusations being directed against the Serbian League of Communists. These accusations and doubts are plots, because the majority of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo has seen through and understood the intentions of the nationalists. These disagreements are created by the leaders, of course, not by all of them, and for this reason she called for uncovering those who were causing quarrels among the people.

Dissatisfied with what had been said today at the Central Committee session, Vinko Hafner began his statement by voicing his dilemma about whether or not to speak at all. He had not, he said, expected much, but he had hoped that, considering the political importance of the Kosovo drama, there would be a drawing nearer of stances about Kosovo. In his opinion this had not happened. For this reason he asked how we will prepare and meet the extraordinary party congress with such great differences in stances on the key issues for the destiny of our country.

Hafner based his discussion on two points, on the question of how to ensure unity in stances, and on Yugoslav-Albanian relations. The greatest of differences, in Hafner's opinion, exist between the Communists of Slovenia and Serbia or, in fact, between their leaders, he said, including the members of the LCY Central Committee from those republics. He believes that the differences are of an objective nature but also of a subjective nature, and this we cannot allow. We in Slovenia, said Hafner, look at Kosovo with a somewhat greater degree of distance and with less emotion. Because of this our views are more rational and in many respects, as the Serbian Communists say, unacceptable. This has been shown again today. We in Slovenia take as our point of departure the assumption that circumstances throughout the country are the root cause of the problems in Kosovo and this is why we advocate socioeconomic development as a way of resolving the drama there. Hafner noted that in this respect the Slovene Communists also blamed Albanian nationalism, but to date we have underestimated their destructive intentions. We equated it with Serbian nationalism, and all this is our weakness. And because of this it was not difficult to make the claim that the Slovenes are supporting the Albanians and their nationalists and separatists. Because of all this we must, stressed Hafner, correct our views on Kosovo, but the Communists of Serbia must do the same. With tolerance, he said, we will not lose the battle.

Vinko Hafner thinks that the assessment by Serbian Communists that the Albanians are to blame for everything in Kosovo is one-sided. He thinks this irritates the Albanian nationality. Hafner, however, following the speeches by Stanko Radmilovic and Nikola Jovanovic, has the impression that the Serbian Communists are not prepared to change their assessments and their one-sidedness. Neither does he agree with the simplistic speech by Enver Sehovic.

Regarding Yugoslav-Albanian relations, Hafner pointed to the two-faced nature of the policy of this neighboring country. However, we must concern ourselves with this because it vitally affects the state of intraethnic relations in Kosovo. He did not contest the right of Albania to take an interest in the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, because this would mean contesting the right of our country to take an interest in the sections of our people in neighboring countries.

Finally, Vinko Hafner proposed that the leader of Slovenia and Serbia should meet and resolve the misunderstandings in order to bring these republics and their peoples closer together. [passage omitted]

Nikola Jovanovic supported Hafner's discussion, but also noted that it would be good if the views that Hafner put forward were a constituent part of the action of Slovene Communists toward Kosovo. When we were called on, as a duty of the Central Committee, to go to Kosovo, not a single member of the LCY Central Committee from Slovenia responded, he noted.

Dissatisfied with the course of the session and the differences in the views of the members of the Central Committee, Darinka Tesic proposed that the committee should meet behind closed doors, so that they can "tell one another everything they have to say." If after this we part without agreement or a united stance, then we should no longer meet as we have today. Let some more clever and capable people than us sit here, stressed Tesic. [passage omitted]

Kosovo needs the open and humane help of all of Yugoslavia, and not the one offered by MLADINA, Seniha Bulja said.

After recalling the February and March events in Titova Mitrovica, especially the miners' strike, Seniha Bulja stresssed that cadre changes in the Kosovo LC brought forth the leadership's new forces, which resolutely started to act. However, the overall process of ideo-political differentiation did not take the desired turn. This concerns above all intellectual circles in which some try to present the process as a hunt for Albanian intellectuals.

As a member of the Turkish nationality, until the counterrevolution in Kosovo, I have not been concerned with national identity. However, these events deeply upset me, Nurhama Cato stressed. [passage omitted]

Serbia is also a state of Albanian nationality and Kosovo has autonomy that is the widest known in the world. The Kosovo LC, Krstic believes, faces two important tasks: differentiation and normalization of the functioning of the economy, which is a precondition for the successful implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Enver Djerdjeku believes that the LCY, Serbian LC, and Kosovo LC are the only forces that can prevent the repetition of the February and March events in Kosovo. The blood must not be spilled again because "the smell and color of blood linger in the consciousness of people longer than we live." The struggle against nationalism, he stressed, is the historical task of Communists of the Albanian nationality because the struggle against nationalism can be won only within the nation in which it has arisen.

Enver Djerdjeku spoke particularly about destructive elements in some political assessments and writings of the public information media. To anathemize all Albanians by claiming that they are guilty of everything in Kosovo, has very negative effects. Some magazines, Djerdjeku cited double-issue of KNJIZEVNOS, negate the right of Albanians to remain in their ancestral homes and advocate their extermination. He also cited a feuilleton in POLITIKA about Islamic fundamentalism as a basis of Albanian consciousness. Albanians, Djerdjeku stressed, had no national religion "that would fight for them, unlike some other nations." All this indoctrinates young people among the Serbian and Montenegrin nations in Kosovo and creates an anti-Albanian mood.

Kosovo, Enver Djerkdjeku, "is not the soul of just one nation, but it is the soul of everyone who lives there, and the soul of all inhabitants of our homeland." [passage omitted]

Radovic proposed that Sehovic and Setinc withdraw the discussions they had today or put their publication under embargo so that the public is not disturbed.

Regarding, as he put it, concerns for Vlasi, Radovic noted that competent and professional people are carrying out investigations and proposed that until a decision of competent organs is made, we should not worry too much about the rights of those arrested and those who are kept incommunicado in Kosovo.

Supporting Vinko Hafner's indication that Slovenia will correct some views about the situation in Kosovo, Radovic suggested that not only some views should be changed, but also some comrades. He is convinced that the differentiation must also be carried out in the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium because of the incomplete and inconsistent implementation of the policy on Kosovo. Consequences should not be borne only by those responsible in Kosovo, because guilty parties can also be found outside the province, Radovic stressed and proposed that his proposal be put on a list of proposed conclusions from today's plenum.

Vukasinovic was the last person listed to speak. However, Milan Kucan asked to speak, saying that he was asking to be heard this late because he had respected the warning of Nedeljko Sipovac that Kosovo was on the agenda. He turned to the speech by Stanko Radmilovic which, he said, had been completely unconnected with this subject.

Radmilovic is concerned because of the situation in Slovenia, Kucan said adding: "He has every right to be concerned." We live in the same house, but fortunately not in the same room. In such a situation it is usual for all the tenants to come to an agreement. It is not right for a neighbor to throw rubbish into my bedroom or into my kitchen in order to remove the smell from where he lives, Kucan said.

He made the assessment that today's speech by Radmilovic had been full of criticisms, and in this respect he noted that Radmilovic had recently been at a session of

the Slovene LC Central Committee where, however, he had not made these points. It would have been in order then, but what he is doing today is not in keeping with communist ethics.

Kucan spoke about the part of Radmilovic's speech concerning the Constitution, and stressed that one cannot say at present what the Constitution will be like. Instead, all the republics will agree on this in a democratic way. We passed the present Constitution, too, by agreement. Kucan noted that assessments of the 1974 Constitution and its consequences had never before been heard in the LC, and were in fact a revision of the Constitution currently in force.

Kucan also said that Radmilovic was not allowing any tolerance whatsoever in the consideration of the new Constitution, and warned that when thought is banned then a barrier is placed in the way of progress.

Kucan also expressed the opinion that no federation could be a strategic model and that relations in such a community are established according to the interests which most suit its members.

Our federation will be like this if we agree on a common future, Kucan noted. If we do not, then in his opinion, it will be a socialist federal Yugoslavia. For our communists, what Tito said in 1971 in Karadjordjevo is still valid: That every republic has its own sovereignty and the right to protect it. Yugoslavia also has its own sovereignty with regard to other countries, and each republic makes its own contribution to this.

Regarding economic reform, Kucan said that the stances of the conference of Slovene Communists are identical with the stances of the LCY conference. It is a pure invention, according to him, that we are running away from a reform of the overall system, Kucan said.

He went on to state that there was separatism in Slovenia, and that it was a shame that Radmilovic had not asked what this was based on. Few people see "a promised land" in a country such as Yugoslavia is at present, Kucan said. The first reason is the centralism which is present both as a tendency and in practice. Centralism, in my opinion, threatens the Yugoslav community just as much as separatism.

Kucan said that Slovenia comprises 8.5 percent of the population of Yugoslavia, and creates 20 percent of the country's social product. With several statistics he tried to illustrate the economic efforts of Slovenia, despite which Slovenia, in his opinion, is lagging behind the neighboring countries on its borders.

Kucan proposed that Radmilovic, as the member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium responsible for economic trends, should draw up information about who is boosting inflation, but not on the basis of information from Slovenia, which is accused in many television programs of generating inflation.

The president of the Slovene LC Central Committee also spoke about the part of the speech by Radmilovic on the homegenization of the Slovenes. This does not exist in Slovenia, but there are several cases of homegenization in various political programs.

In Slovenia we are living with politically pluralist processes, and there can no longer be any debate about this, Kucan said. He recalled that the Slovene LC had proposed that a discussion be held in the LCY Central Committee about political pluralism because there have been no united stances on this since the LCY program.

Finally, Milan Kucan said that in Slovenia there is homogenization, but this is "because of fear of a third party." He did not elaborate on this.

Franc Setinc began by saying that he did not defend Albanian nationalism, but was "convinced that it is very dangerous," all the more so because it is pushing people and the province into isolation, condemning them to drastically lag behind the development of Serbia and Yugoslavia, the Balkans, and Europe as a whole, and it also means that it is a hotbed of intranational conflicts, and danger for the integrity of Yugoslavia. However, he added that it is not just a question of Albanian nationalism, because Albanians are not to blame for everything, nor the participants in the November and March demonstrations. Can we not see, Setinc said, that many people in the province, not just Serbs and Albanians, are in a difficult situation and are exposed to the pressures of Albanian, Serbian and other nationalisms, torn between fear and hope.

Setinc stressed that for a long time he had been bothered by the fact that different standards were used in the assessment of nationalisms. If it is a question of Serbian nationalism, Setinc said, then it is left merely at gentle criticism, or even justified. If it is a question of Albanian nationalism then it is almost certainly counterrevolution. In his opinion this is not a productive method for so-called ideopolitical, working, or even criminal differentiation. Setinc described some of the slogans relating to the Albanians and Azem Vlasi as war cries. Can we really be surprised, he said, that many people do not believe that Vlasi's arrest was justified. The formal reasons cited on the occasion of the arrest failed to convince me, as well, Setinc added, particularly since I worked in the same Presidium with Vlasim and I do not recall that he could ever have been accused of being anti-Yugoslav or counterrevolutionary. Quite the opposite.

Finally Setinc said that Kosovo needed a long-term development plan, since the resolving of its socioeconomic position is not possible in the short-term. The province needs a plan which will mean reliance to a greater extent on its own resources, which will not be

deaf to the economic, social, cultural, and other characteristics of Kosovo, and to the needs of the people, a plan which will prevent the bureaucratization of the structures in Kosovo. If we succeed in this then this will be the greatest blow to all those who are trying to mobilize Albanians for anti-Yugoslav activities, and to all those who are creating an anti-Albanian mood, which is also anti-Yugoslav, Setinc said.

Setinc stated that he had not been in Cankar Hall, but considering what he knew then about the miners in Stari Trg, he would have said the same as Milan Kucan, and the basic message, which was signed by many Slovenes, was signed by me, with my two articles, and I take responsibility for that.

Following the speech by Milan Kucan there arose sharp polemics caused by the speeches of Radmilovic and Kucan. The polemics concerned both an assessment of the situation in Slovenia and views on events in the province [of Kosovo] during the recent hostile demonstrations, and today in the conditions of the extraordinary measures.

Stanko Radmilovic said that he did not intend to be polemical, but he criticized Kucan for not having understood him well, and said that a part of Kucan's discussion had been below his usual level. He also rejected Kucan's criticism as to why he had not spoken about all that he had mentioned today at the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, and explained that right up to the last he had been a supporter of a more peaceful consideration of the situation in Kosovo and of turning toward other problems in Yugoslavia. In the meantime, Radmilovic said, there has been an "open meeting" of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation which had "crossed the Rubicon" with its clear message "we are plunging into a divided Yugoslavia." Radmilovic also criticized Boris Muzevic for having attacked the opening speech of today's session with the argument that Slovene Communists would speak about Kosovo from the point of view of the needs of their own environment.

Boris Muzevic energetically refuted this criticism that he had attacked the opening speech, noting that his 1 and ½ hour speech in the LCY Central Committee Presidium had as its aim that the final result of today's discussion should be a calming of the situation in Kosovo, and that it should not contribute to further unnecessary confrontations. At the same time he criticized Radmilovic for having bypassed the LCY Central Committee Presidium, of which he is a member, and of having opened up a new theme at today's session—the issue of separatism in Slovenia.

Sinisa Batalo expressed surprise at Kucan's statement that in Stari Trg the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ had been defended, and also criticized the remarks by Kraigher "that the assessments of the recent demonstrations were one-sided," and those by Setinc equating Albanian and Serbian nationalism.

Milan Kucan again asked to speak, and said that the statement cited had been made by him before the assessment that the miners in Stari Trg had been manipulated, but that even if that had not been the case he would not have changed his stance. If the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ is the result of voluntary agreement in which nothing is imposed on anyone, then the question is why did the miners see the Serbian constitutional changes as something which was being imposed. If the miners were not manipulated then this was a reason to talk with them, and bring them out to the light of day, he said, recalling that the conclusion of the LCY Central Committee Presidium had been that the top people from the LCY and the Serbian LC should go there. There was delay in this, he said, and added that for some people the events in Kosovo have been a tragedy for others, a farce. On the basis of what was known at the time, our reaction was the natural one, concluded Kucan in his reply. [passage omitted]

After a 5-hour discussion, because of the absence of a quorum the LCY Central Committee was not able to adopt the operative tasks for the activity of communists in Kosovo. For this reason a compromise solution was found whereby the statute was not violated, and the basis of the proposed document was adopted in the form of a working conclusion, to be adopted in full at the next session, and with the amendments of Central Committee members. This solution was reached after attempts to decide about several variants, including the possibility of the Presidium being authorized to adopt the tasks.

Milovan Popovic reacted to this, noting that the session should end at the moment there is no quorum. We have done so much work today, and in the end we do not know what we have done and what we have concluded. This is a farce Popovic said. Perhaps the lack of a quorum was actually the aim of leaving the session.

Korosec, in response, appealed for greater tolerance, and criticized Popovic for his unfounded remarks, which devalued today's work.

Petar Skundric also recalled the statutory regulation stating that in the absence of a quorum the session should be ended, but he also called for those who had left the session to be held to account.

Ivan Brigic said that the proposed tasks should be adopted because they are of immediate relevance for every member of the Central Committee, and no criticisms of them have been heard at the session.

Finally the proposal of Zdravko Grebo was accepted that in practice one part should be adopted this evening and another part at the next session.

After this the session ended ingloriously with the counting of those present in the hall. Of 165 members of the Central Committee, there were 101 present. The others, as was advocated, will have to justify their leaving the session, which was discussing Yugoslavia's number one problem.

Plenum Viewed as 'Step Back'

AU2505181489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 89 pp 1, 6

[TANJUG report: "A Plenum With a Weakened Consciousness"]

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May—The finale of the session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], which ended late last night and at which the current political situation in Kosovo and the tasks of the League of Communists [LC] were discussed for a full 15 hours, has made the job of writing the usual journalistic report much easier. A reporter only had to quote individual Central Committee members saying that what happened at the session of the highest party forum after midnight was a "farce," "buffoonery," and the "continuation of the work while ignoring the statute."

What has this Central Committee with one-third of its members being new done to deserve such an assessment coming from its own ranks? The members of the highest party forum did not manage to adopt the operational tasks for the LC activity in Kosovo. The attempts made by individuals to "smooth things over" by saying that what was involved were not new tasks but the elaboration of the already established policy and that the job could therefore be passed on to the LCY Central Committee Presidium, failed to reduce the bitterness of the impression created. This was simply because when it came to establishing the Central Committee's own obligations as well as the ones of all LC members, there were only 101 LCY Central Committee members left in the hall and at least 110 were needed for their decision to be valid.

Without intending to pass judgment one asks whether this is the real picture of the attitude a part of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communists has toward the Kosovo counterrevolution and whether this is the proof of their readiness to finally uproot nationalism and separatism in our southern province. This question is not asked only because of the end of the session being such, but also because of the incomprehensible differences among the views of LCY Central Committee members about the stances the highest party forum had already adopted—ranging from the platform on Kosovo to the assessment made on the occasion of introducing the emergency measures in Kosovo.

Let us only recall the fact that the 23d session of the LCY Central Committee was adjourned by 7 days because of the need to have "better and more comprehensive" preparations. One should ask what it would have been like if the previous date had been kept. The differences seem to have been even greater and deeper than they had been at the 9th and 16th sessions which were also devoted to the Kosovo problem. The statement by one speaker that "it is completely ridiculous to discuss the SFRY Presidency decision to introduce 'emergency measures' in Kosovo" is cold comfort when, apart from individual reactions, almost none of the members of the working presidium and the entire Central Committee, did not dissociate themselves from the comparison of that act with the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Should one explain to the members of the the highest party forum how one can defend the country's integrity?

It is difficult to tell at this moment what sounded sadder—the proposal to presidents of republican and provincial committees to "investigate their members" who had left the session before the end, or the roll call, like in a school, of all 165 LCY Central Committee members. In any case, all that happened at the party plenum during its last hour was simply impermissible. This also includes most speeches that endlessly repeated those so many times pronounced assessments and tasks all of which contain "should," "must" and the like.

This is not the way to help the renewed provincial leadership that has now started, for the first time since the counterrevolution in 1981, a proper battle to destroy the causes and remove the consequences of the counterrevolution and all that was happening in the province during the past 8 years. Is this battle, if it lacks the support of entire Yugoslavia and above all its communists, not doomed to failure?

After all that happened at the 23d plenum and was heard from some of its participants one must ask the following question: Are such sessions about Kosovo at all necessary? When compared with some previous ones, this session was certainly a step back. [passage omitted]

New Members of the LCY Central Committee

The LCY Central Committee elected seven new members in a secret ballot. New members from the LC of Croatia are the following: Milica Stanivukovic (125 votes), Marko Brdaric (114), Borisav Mikelic (108), and Branko Caratan (94). There were 139 votes, and two ballots were invalid. New members from the LC of Vojvodina are the following: Ljubomir Medjesi (104) and Mitar Janjic (91). There were 139 votes with 4 invalid ballots. Nikola Cubra was elected Central Committee member from the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army with 70 votes and all valid ballots.

All lists contained one candidate more than the number to be elected.

Prior to the voting, Stipe Suvar, Dragutin Zelenovic, and Joze Slokar tendered their resignations after taking up other duties and thus having to separate party from state duties.

The Central Committee appointed Finaco Dimitrov chief and responsible editor of the Komunist Publishing Center.

LCY Presidium Discusses Nature of Pluralism

LD2505011789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 May (TANJUG)—The development of political pluralism in conditions of socialist self-management opens up the possibility of achieving historically new democratic forms of political activity and manifestation, and the particular nature of a pluralism understood in this way requires an end to, or the prevention of political monopoly by anyone, in any form. This was stressed today at a session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, presided over by Milan Pancevski, which discussed the activity of communists in conditions of the development of political pluralism on the basis of socialist self-management and socialist democracy.

At the same time according to a statement, the Presidium stressed that political pluralism also means overcoming organization along party lines, since every party has the aim either of achieving or sharing political monopoly, while the meaning of socialist democracy is not the division of political monopoly, but overcoming it. Based on this, it was stressed at the session that the LCY calls for the affirmation of social, ideological, and political pluralism within the framework of the political system of socialist self-management. In Yugoslav conditions, a historical opportunity for the realization of the democratic achievements attained and the human rights and freedoms reached lies precisely in the further development of socialist self-management and socialist democracy, and not in its replacement by a multiparty system. A precondition for the realization of such socialist, nonparty, political pluralism is that there should be a break with the ideological prejudices about socialism, with dogmatic attitudes and the belittling of the democratic initiative and the political role of the broadest masses.

The LCY takes as its starting point the assumption that the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] is the broadest front of all progressive forces in society in which political pluralism will manifest itself fully. All—even differing views, initiatives, and interests arising on the broad democratic platform of the Socialist Alliance and which are based on socialist self-management, the federal system, the equality of our nations and nationalities, the independent and nonaligned position of Yugoslavia in the world—can freely organize, associate, and act precisely within this framework, it was stressed at the session.

It was stressed that the development of nonparty pluralism also demands a fndamental transformation of the SAWPY, which must be constructed on organizational principles that will enable new political initiatives to be accepted, as well as various forms for their organization, manifestation, confrontation, and realization. It was pointed out that to this end it is vital to change the existing legal norms and, in accordance with the Constitution, to create a legal basis for the unhindered realization of political pluralism within the framework of the Socialist Alliance.

This topical theme will continue to be discussed in other League of Communists organs as well, after which stances will be adopted on the activity of communists in connection with the issues of political pluralism on the basis of socialist self-management. All this, it was stressed, represents a constituent part of the processes embarked upon for the transformation of the LCY.

The Presidium considered the proceedings of the 23d session of the LCY Central Committee and the unfavorable reaction to the session among the public, concluding that some weaknesses had been displayed at this session which were not the result of attitudes toward the subject on the agenda. The Presidium also pointed out its own responsibility for the better preparation and organization of Central Committee sessions, the responsibility of members of the LCY Central Committee towards the session's work and proceedings, and a more responsible attitude on the part of the press for comprehensive and objective reporting on the discussion. The weaknesses displayed in the work of the LCY Central Committee at its 23d session, which were caused, in particular, by the lack of a quorum at the end of the session, will be discussed at the next LCY Central Committee session.

Morina on Special Measures Being 'Justified'

AU2605075889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0514 GMT 26 May 89

["Yugoslavia: Imposition of Special Measures in Kosovo Was Necessary"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, May 25 (TANJUG)—The demonstrations of ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists last March put Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and constitutional order at risk, Kosovo party leader Rahman Morina said today.

During today's meeting with directors and editors-in-chief of Yugoslav newspapers, Morina said that this was why the imposition of special measures in Kosovo was justified and necessary.

Under the guise of an alleged protection of national interests, an alliance of ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists and bureaucracy fought to preserve its interests and privileges, he said.

The leader of the provincial party stressed that recent events in Kosovo showed that separatists and the bureaucracy attempted to internationalize the Kosovo problem.

Morina described as unacceptable claims that the counter-revolution was spontaneous and said that it was the result of a long-standing illegal activity of ethnic Albanian separatists who want Kosovo to secede from Yugoslavia and join Albania.

Serbia's Milosevic Addresses Novi Sad Workers

AU2205155089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] It is high time to bring the Yugoslav discussion to a conclusion and to give priority to those solutions which favor Yugoslavia as the common homeland. This was stated by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, addressing the workers of the Novi Sad Yugoalat firm. During his visit to Vojvodina, Slobodan Milosevic also spent some time in the Yugodent firm and at the Novi Sad Fair. Nikola Bulatovic has the details:

[Bulatovic] In the Yugoalat firm of Novi Sad, Slobodan Milosevic first of all visited the production sector, and then he was briefed by the representatives of the work organization on the economic results, efforts to implement the reforms as soon as possible, and the measures that are being undertaken in this connection. Expressing his satisfaction for being in that work organization, Slobodan Milosevic said that Yugoalat is the personification of the positive social changes in Vojvodina. Before these changes had taken place, this work organization was socially undesirable and politically suspicious, regardless of its economic results. In a clash with the policy of that time, it stood in the front line of the great battle of Vojvodina for changes. Both Yugoalat and Vojvodina won that battle. Serbia, too, won the battle. This was stated by Slobodan Milosevic, who then went on to say:

[Begin Milosevic recording] The cadre policy in that sense is the problem of our entire society. It cannot solve the crisis and it especially cannot enter the higher stage of development without freeing itself from the leaderships, which neither want this new stage, nor know how this stage ought to look. Every society which finds itself at a crossroads also searches for suitable people for these changes. In this respect, our society is not an exception. This is why the content of the slogans, which were seen throughout Vojvodina last summer, and the citizens' anger expressed at the meetings contained a great historic experience and the historic lesson that the time was ripe for a different society and for different people at responsible political and business posts.

How should one arrive at this different society? In other words, what should one do to make society truly different and better? This should be known by, above all, those who are taking over these responsible business and political posts. On the other hand, if they do not have a program for changes, or are not able to realize it, they cannot engage themselves in politics or any other responsible social job. In our society there are many people who have, particularly in times of crisis, both ideas and ability with which one can carry out radical and progressive social changes.

As regards Serbia, at present it is fully mobilized for social changes. A part of these great changes, the constitutional changes, have been successfully completed, and after such a short period of time I can say that, considering their significance, they did not even take a long time to complete. However, now, under these new constitutional conditions we must thoroughly carry out the social reform and we must do it as soon as possible.

We are now floating a large loan for the economic development of Serbia. I believe that there will be a large response to this loan. The funds raised in this way will contribute to motivating development, curbing inflation, and finding jobs for the younger generation. This is why it is necessary to make great investments. However, I must stress that these funds, however large they may be, and however sensibly they are used, cannot solve problems by themselves. A great part of these funds, I would say, the most significant part of the funds, should be provided by all of us, every firm, every work organization, and every working man by working more and better, in a more organized way and more conscientiously. I am convinced that everybody who loves his country, who thinks about what kind of world we will leave to our children, will act accordingly.

Having hailed the new Constitution, we can now roll up our sleeves. Remembering the past is nice and probably (?indisputable), but the present is in front of us, the future is knocking on our door. Serbia does not live for yesterday, but for today and tomorrow. I want to tell this to everybody inside and outside Serbia. Intoxicated with its victory, Serbia will not stand still. On the contrary, Serbia has begun great reforms with the support of all of its citizens and Serbia needs all of them to the same extent, regardless of their education, social origin, nationality, and religion. They are all equally important and they all belong to Serbia to the same extent. [end recording]

[Bulatovic] Having stressed that through its own example Serbia can do much for Yugoslavia as a whole, and having pointed out that there is no longer fear that somebody will call all of this unitarianism, Milosevic said:

[Begin Milosevic recording] At the same time, there are more and more reasons for concern about the phenomena which are no longer only antisocialist and anti-Yugoslav, but also antidemocratic, which can be noticed in some communities such as some in Slovenia. There, where so much is being said about human rights, support is extended to Kosovo separatists who are essentially using terror over Serbs and Montenegrins to threaten their human rights. There, where so much is said about

so-called pluralism, aggressiveness is expressed toward different opinions, such as ours in Serbia. All those who they do not agree with are exposed to pressures and threats.

Comrades, this certainly does not go with appeals for pluralism, appeals for tolerance and democracy. This is why these appeals are obviously not sincere, and this is why they do not have any real connection with democracy or tolerance. It appears that in these communities in Slovenia people expect to be treated with tolerance, while they themselves are not expressing any tolerance toward other peoples and other opinions. There is no civilized country in which such behavior could be described as democratic. Such primitive, vengeful aggressiveness is particularly incompatible with the culture of contemporary Europe which they want to join. However, we will not enter Europe as lackeys who fawn over Europe by scorning our own state and its institutions and even the army, and by scorning other allegedly uncultured people with which we live in this country. We will enter Europe on equal footing and, of course, in our Yugoslav, socialist way. [end recording]

[Bulatovic] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, also visited the Yugodent factory, where he was presented with a gold badge on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of this organization. After that he visited the Novi Sad Fair.

Commentary Views Sino-Soviet 'Normalization'

AU2205202789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 May 89 p 3

[Dusan Pesic commentary: "The Tribulations of Gorbachev and Deng"]

[Text] The irony of fate ensured that the great historical moment of the Soviet-Chinese reconciliation was played out in the heat of unprecedented demonstrations by 1 million students, accompanied by an explosion of dissatisfaction on Tiananmen Square in Beijing. Perhaps the persuasiveness of the political symbolism concerning the inevitability of facing life's realities was helped by the fact that Deng and Gorbachev understand even better the necessity of overcoming the inherited prejudices which modern times reject, demanding further and more energetic changes and reforms in internal development and bilateral relations.

Precisely these two men, as statesmen of proved vision and the ability to openly look ahead, have in recent days again been faced with the truth (expressed, among other things, through the student protest) that the once opened processes of change and searches for a way out of the deadend into which socialism was led by the dogmatism of Stalin and Mao, cannot be satisfied with half-measures and the zig-zag strategy of "forward and back," but only with courageous and thorough definite changes on a wide front, from the economy to political freedoms, from democracy to humanization.

At first sight it could even seem an injustice that Deng and Gorbachev, who had the daring to reveal, each in his own way, the unpleasant truth of the past and remove the final veil of illusions from administrative socialism, were in fact reproached for not being sufficiently consistent in carrying out the reforms that they had announced. However, reforms are obviously not enough. The opinion can be heard in Moscow that perestroyka [Russian word used] is not working, that supplies are even less than ever before, and so on. In Beijing, Deng, in his extreme old age, was disturbed by the students' bitter reproaches that the economic reform has not been enough and the Chinese changes have lacked the exceptionally important element of democratization.

The Failure of the Old Models

Seen in this way, this undoubtedly historic moment of reconciliation between two great countries acquires other, perhaps more significant characteristics than those which are written in the official diplomatic documents. The atmosphere has essentially changed since the time 30 years ago when Mao and Kruschev quarreled. At that time, two ambitious desires for domination and leadership in the communist movement clashed on the public stage. Experience in the past 3 decades undermined and wore out the administrative dogma and revealed the sad truth that socialism was in a deep crisis and without the possibility of developing further on the postulates of "firm models prescribed forever." In a feverish attempt to find a way out, first Beijing and then Moscow with Gorbachev arriving at the helm, departed from two starting points toward the same goal. Deng decided on economic reforms which initially produced spectacular results, but began to be stifled in recent years within insufficiently expanded sociopolitical frameworks and created new social inequalities and caused dissatisfaction, which again led to vascillation in the government's policy and temporary withdrawal from the "front line of reforms" and dependence on half-measures which complicated the situation further. Moreover, as can be seen from the present student demonstrations, the economic reforms were not sufficient nor could they be successfully carried through if they were not accompanied by the corresponding processes of real democratization. This is an issue which the Chinese leadership will now have to seriously consider.

Gorbachev tried one method and the other. He began by believing in quick and successful changes in the economic system and then, when they faltered in a collision with bureaucratic resistance, he did a sharp turnaround and directed the bow of the perestroyka [Russian word used] ship toward democratization, glasnost, a law-governed state, and the humanization of society. There was no lack of success, as demonstrated by the recent Soviet elections. However, as can be seen, both the Chinese and the Soviet concepts are suffering from incompleteness and require a more comprehensive approach because people in Moscow are protesting about empty stores and the fall in the living standard and in

Beijing they are demanding more glasnost and freedom. Therefore, the newly established normalization between the two largest socialist countries is also significant because, in the future, solutions will probably be sought by using common experiences instead of the previous practice of considering what one side does as heresy for the other.

Perhaps the greatest change and essential lesson after 3 decades of bitter quarrels and conflicts are contained in just this. At one time, both countries separately pretended to have the best solutions for socialism and wanted to self-confidently impose their model on others as the sacred one and "the only one possible," without respecting anybody's opinion. They are now aware that not one of the old models works and that difficult times of tribulations and searching are yet to come for real and positive historical opportunities to be opened up for socialism.

The Real End of the Cold War

Both basic admissions defined the atmosphere and the priorities of the recent talks between Deng and Gorbachev while the echo of the students' shouts from Tiananmen Square acted as a serious corrective and reminder of reality. Of course, one should not nurture the illusion that everything was easy and that the old mistrusts disappeared overnight. The interests of the two powers, above all in the Asian region, remain alongside what unites them in their search for the aforementioned ways out and in the development of socialism. The meeting in Beijing was surely one of the successes of Gorbachev's lively and flexible diplomacy, for which the normalization of relations with China was an essential and valuable link in the chain of the general opening up of Soviet foreign policy, which he has carefully put together in the last few years. China has waited a long time to verify Moscow's policy of "new thinking" and did this only when there was no longer any justification for further hesitation. As regards Deng, as he did earlier in a similar way as regards Reagan, Gorbachev applied the tactics of "great unilateral relaxations and concessions" in order to achieve his aims. For years the Chinese made normalization conditional on the demand for the elimination of the so-called "three obstacles." These are: Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, troops on their common border and in Mongolia, and Vietnam's presence in Cambodia. Gorbachev carried to Beijing in his luggage the confirmation of the withdrawal from Afghanistan; the withdrawal from Mongolia began the day of his departure; the readiness to reduce the number of troops on the border was confirmed; and Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia will begin in the foreseeable future. Even though all this looks like a high "price which the Kremlin has paid for normalization," the "obstacles" have been eliminated with the logic of the times and the international climate has changed. Judging from the documents issued on the visit, certain disagreements and misunderstandings remain concerning Cambodia, but the main thing is that stress was put on the conclusion that in the future all contentious issues will be resolved through negotiations and that there is no longer any reason for strained relations.

It is not essential at the moment to analyze which side has fared better from the established normalization. The quality of all international relations has certainly improved. Only now has the circle of the relaxation and elimination of the legacy of the cold war which began with the establishment of Soviet-American dialogue been closed. One can see the presence of this in the fact that this time Washington observed the building of a bridge between Beijing and Moscow without alarm and even with a certain amount of blessing. This would have been inconceivable only a few years ago and would have provoked violent reactions. Judging by everything, Gorbachev has finally managed to convince the West, and above all the United States, that his policies are not directed against them and that normalization with China will not under any circumstances represent any association against American interests. On the contrary, it was stressed in Beijing that a "new model" of Soviet-Chinese relations was being created which will rest on the recognition that both countries want to simultaneously maintain good relations with the United States. This sounds quite convincing this time, as this is the only possible realistic approach in the modern world in which the main actors on the international stage have realized that in the interests of everyone earlier confrontations and rivalry must be replaced with dialogue and cooperation.

BORBA on 'New Era' in Sino-Soviet Relations

AU2305133089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 89 p 2

[Vladimir Matovic commentary: "Three Yes's and One But"]

[Text] A new era in Sino-Soviet relations and history has definitely opened in Beijing this week.

Not only the main participants in the already historic summit have announced these new times. When stepping on to Chinese territory, Mikhail Gorbachev assessed that the summit had epochal significance. The reply was cordial and concordant, and was expressed first by the proverbially reserved Deng, who expressed the highest political recognition in global terms: "The entire world and I, myself, have been able to notice the new content of your policy. Before that, the new way of thinking did not exist."

The cordiality of the Beijing welcome for the guest from Moscow has announced the beginning of the thaw and the end of the 30-year ice age between the world's two largest and most populous countries. At the same time, it made commentators throughout the world, including the most ominous ones when it comes to socialism, admit the historic significance of the summit from the very start.

Among the many analytical assessments made in the West we have especially noticed one made in London tradition, a cynical, but obviously honest commentary by the increasingly popular paper THE INDEPENDENT: "Only 5 years ago, the world would have been sorry to see the cordial reception of a Soviet leader in Beijing....Now, however, Gorbachev's actions are met with applause everywhere. The relaxing of the tension between the East and West makes the West more interested in the stability than the instability of the East...."

With his 3-year long persistence, Gorbachev deserves this latest applause. In 1986 he waved an olive branch at the Chinese from Vladivostok and thus, having crossed the Siberian expanses, he symbolically demonstrated his willingness for rapprochement to Beijing. In order to overcome and neutralize the "three obstacles" stressed in Beijing, he adjusted his plans and countered with the Chinese weapon that has been the most acceptable, from the times of Marco Polo until Henry Kissinger, which is patience and persistence. He immediately disarmed his hosts in Beijing with his three "yes's"—to the known and accepted Chinese principles and conditions for Sino-Soviet cooperation.

Among the many paradoxes from the pluralist times and world in which we live, we can certainly add another one, that is, the one we watched in Beijing's wide streets and squares: Along with the official ceremonies and the highest state protocol and honors, there was an unofficial side—the youth and the protest. Along with the national anthems, flags, and everything else envisaged by official protocol, there was an unofficial side: Hundreds of thousands of young people on Beijing squares wrapped in flags during chilly May nights. They removed the flags when the morning came and waved them over their young heads. They sang "The International" and shouted for freedom, justice, and equality. They pledged themselves to a merciless struggle against injustice, corruption, unemployment, hunger...and all other inhuman things.

There is something else in these Beijing sights—unofficial, young, and enthusiastic—as well as in the demands made, something which cannot be assessed simply as adolescent dreams. Those with longer memories have experienced these cries and symbols, and these bitter but just programs before. They heard them from those very people who now sit behind the walls of Zhongnanhai, the Beijing Kremlin, and are occupied with great state duties of global-strategic significance.

It was there, behind those Beijing walls that, according to the official announcement, Mikhail Gorbachev said the following: "We are removing everything that slowed down and hindered our development and deformed our aims and ideals...."

It would really be youthfully naive to believe that ideals—those fallen socialist ideals—can be raised after only 4-5 days of talks, no matter how high the level of the talks might be. However, the very readiness to face the truth and to call things by their proper name, even after a narcotic dream lasting several years, the dream in socialism called voluntarism, can mean a significant step.

In taking this new step, Gorbachev announced more than just words in Beijing recently: "At the same time, new state and social mechanisms are being established.... The new relations result from the fact that both countries have changed and that the world around them is different." He also pointed out that "the process of change is spreading to an increasing number of countries and gradually entering the sphere of international relations."

After the three officially coordinated "yes's" and one unofficial and unpredicted student "but," Mikhail Gorbachev will leave China. According to current assessments, he will be officially seen off through, to put it symbolically, now wide open and festooned gates in the wall of prolonged Chinese restraint and the mutual alienation of the two socialist countries.

Apart from these official triumphal arches, we observers will always remember the sights unofficially observed in Beijing recently: the storm of flags and the masses led by Beijing students and raised in Chinese towns even before Gorbachev arrived. However, they moved even more after he made the following statement: "Our aim is to build a new socialism that will encompass humanism and democracy."

Democracy, even socialist democracy, particularly if it is humanist, is expressing itself with unalienated vitality, whether on the official or unofficial side. For socialism, and all that is socialist, does not only mean state, party, institutions, and interstate relations.

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